



# THE ANNALES OF

## Scotland in some part continued

from the time in which Holinshed left,

*being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill the yeare of our*

*redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie  
called Thin.*



Socrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wisely (as one in all his life wholie giuen to serch and saie the truth in euery thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectly know. For we know nothing excellently well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our selues; and that which is commonlie receiued, embraced, approoued, and vsed by all men. Now those things are most vsed which concerne publike affaires, and such publike affaires are most knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, so farre forth as it concerneth the thing done, must needs be true that the same was so done in that order, as it was openlie seene to be done. Whereby might be concluded, that in dronickling and treating of publike affaires, we should speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: because we report things done in the eyes of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement.

For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euery one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glose things publiklye done, as with a certaine witherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things done in publike shew to be of other shapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saing, that they speake best that speake things receiued of all men, and that be com-  
mon to the world; for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vsed of all men, be the best speech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbear to write; and for that cause also might most iustlye restraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publike affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same saing of Socrates, that he speaketh best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue those for soundest which time trieth to be most true, and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publiklye done; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptable in writing publike affaires; considering that I am not sworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitched with promise of gaine or honour, nor enforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onlie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: sith the end of labor, of contemplation of studie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the attaining of truth, and not that perpetuallie or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies sought by me to be auoided, being onlie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, because the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as saith Nehemias, Truth is great and dooth mightily preuaile. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publiklye done, and that they are publiklye done that sort to anie action in the common-wealth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptable, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents done in the common-wealth; because that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie done, in that order (without ambages, gloses, or parcialities) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therefore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillingly attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had beene sacrilege for me to haue gaine said. And therefore rather carelesse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descending vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (expecting alie at the first in a matter of such importance) than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weak shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vn-  
der the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euery respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleasure make black seeme white, alter euery matter into euery shape, & curioullye carping at my barrenness in writing, because I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue had me to doo: I must desire thee to consider for the first that the Scots themselves, besides manie others of our owne nation are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restraint of others might not, impart me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publiklye knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publiklye seene to be done of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

Pp.

Now,

## The Preface.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other cuntry, better knowne to all men than to my selfe) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of such matters, and so more vnmeet to enter into the bosome of princes (whose harts as Salomon faith are vnsearchable) should for my vnaduisednesse seeme worthie the punishment of Prometheus, that stole the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, because the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be submittet to the censure of their subiects, nor to be written vntill the ashes of all those whome the things concerne were vtterlie consumed: thou must yet remember that men haue escaped punishment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of such like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in punishing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himselfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the soule, were not onelie free from punishment, but receiued eternall reward, as after shall appeare, how much more should Prometheus haue bene spared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifest that in diuinitie and matters of the soule (a thing that so far exceedeth the bodie as the sunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkenesse) there be manie which haue leapt into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongst the sonnes of God in writing, and laing abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnsearchable works of the Almighty, whereof we cannot comprehend the least cause, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued punishment, but eternall reward both in bodie and soule; as Enoch was translated to paradise; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cause I saie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to excell in the meanest degree of perfection, were not punished for meddling therein, and writing thereof; much lesse ought I to be punished with Prometheus in meddling with the discourse of matters vpon the earth, and such as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and such other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue so rashlie descended, or taken so hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I said) the commandment of such as I durst not gainsaie, interposed it selfe as a shield to receiue and beat backe the sharpe darts of enuious tongues. For which cause sith I was bound to him by desart, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cause whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiser sort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous sea, being not so much furnished with hope to performe it well, as desirous to discharge the request of him, and to shew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which discourse I had rather good reader thou shouldst complaine of want of sufficiencie in me to performe so hard a thing: than that he should mislike of my goodwill in answering his desire. And should I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great counsellors and men priue of matters of estate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the singularity and amplexesse of Platos knowledge in philosophic feare Aristotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Aristotle staied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lysias? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, and Demosthenes? Shall none write histories but Caesar, Liue, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or such like? Or shall none deliuer their traueile to the world because they cannot write in English as did sir Thomas Moore, sir Iohn Cheeke, Roger Askam, Gellertie Fenton, or Iohn Lillie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their best, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euene of and in that wherein they haue best trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euene by the selfe same thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canst not doe either vpon the basenes of my stile, the disorder of the matter, or the barrennesse of supplieng of things requirit for the furnishing and maicestie of an historie, than to suppose and saie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample discourse for the matter, and a sweeter stile for the manner might haue bene had for the historie of Scotland, than that which I haue set downe. Wherefore if the best writers be subiect to these faults, that when they haue spent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet somewhat to be desired in them, as well as in me the meanest writer, I am content to beare all speeches, and desire thee to thinke what I would doe, and not what I should doe; to excuse me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that sort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildnesse to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou shalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been consecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the first volume was dedicated; I answer (besides that I am to him an estranger, and not to beg vnderferued fauour of anie person, and that the first patrone of this Scottish historie is now in the low countries beyond the seas) this is a thing by me so slenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue bestowed the same vpon those to whom I haue already consecrated my selfe, whatsoeuer I am, hauing long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandment. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to serue and offer it selfe to manie persons, considering that where is but one heart, there must needs be but one waie: and he that will bestowe one heart vpon manie persons, must diuide the same into manie portions, and so dismember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he must go to the shambles to provide manie sheepes hearts, to bestow vpon those manie to whom he will bind his manie seruices: for which causes I may neither choose a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seeme to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleus or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that cuntry, not set downe or deliuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue receiued intelligence thereof, but onelie culled forth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and challenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere friends to enter into this sand: that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willingly would: that I ought not to forbear to write because I cannot in stile and matter equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purposed in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle, and so to the matter, after this long and tedious detaining of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.



# THE CONTINVANCE of the annales of Scotland, from

*the death of the regent Matthew earle of Leneaux.*

1572  
Leflew lib. 10.  
pag. 387.  
Buchan. lib. 20.



Colen.

The earle of  
War made  
regent of  
Scotland.

**T**he earle of Leneaux, beinge slain and buried at Steirling (as the state of that same troublesome time would so permit) the noblemen which were there present of that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselves for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named three, and those first by oth compelled to yeeld to the voices of the nobilitie. The three appointed by them were Gillespie Cambell earle of Argyle, James Douglas earle of Morton, and John Areskine earle of War. But in the end, upon consultation which of these for most causes (both beneficial and honorable to the realme and king) were meetest to weild so troublesome and dangerous an office; in the end it was laid upon the shoulders of the last of the three, to whom (they whole inclining) gave full authoritie to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Areskine, having nothing more desired to and of him, than the besieging and recouerie of the castell and towne of Edenborough (out of the hands of the queenes faction) to the use of his master and pupill (wherby to the last calends of October he was appointed, with a sufficient armie by the last deceased regent his predecessor) he was now hindered therof by sudden (and unlooked for) turmoiles of the estates of the realme. Whereupon for that instant, the same was proroged to the ides of the said moneth of October. Which delaye was after occasion of great impediment for the recouerie thereof, because it ministred time, power, substance, and succor to the citizens and capteins, to more and strengthen the castell and towne, when the sharpe winter, the long nights, the hard carriage for the waies, preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therof (at the same time with the said turmoiles) occasioned departure from thence, without dispatch of that for which he came.

Certaine monthes after that the regent was gone from thence, there were some few and small excursions and skirmishes used amongst them, the victorie inclining to neither part. For the first sight a watch out of the castell of Edenborough (towards

enerie part of the cuntry) so wrought, that the queenes faction should neither come to hand strokes, nor yet (being unprowided) should be intrapped with the deceits of their enemies: because by a pitie to him (given out of the highest towre of the castell) they were easlie warned to recoile and draw homeward in convenient time. All which notwithstanding, they once felt the smart of the enimie, when all the horse and footmen were come out of the towne to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction (having first laid an ambush in the vallie) did with the rest come before the castell, in hope to traine the towne garrison upon them out of the walls of their defense, which their expectation was not deceived. For the said Edenburghers made hast out of the towne, to pursue the said part of the kings armie, which feined a feble flight, to draw the other part further from defense of the castell. By means whereof, they of the towne did so egerlie pursue them so fast, that in the end they went so far after their enemies, that they drew nere the ensignes of the other ambush, now shewing themselves out of the vallie to rescue their fellows put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceived by the watch of the castell of Edenborough, forthwith it gave the appointed signe, whereby those on the queenes part (before that they came nere to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recoile for their better safetie; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, because they knew they were in danger, and could not suspect from whence or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned therof by the said watch of the towne. In which recoile of the queenes part, the few horsemen which had before feined the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such hast on the backe of the footmen, that the footmen were enforced (with all the speed that might be) to flee unto the citie, the next waie that enerie man could find for his best defense: at that time yet manie of them were wounded, and manie taken prisoners, as well capteins and gentlemen of armes, as others.

Whylest these things were thus stolicke performed, in that the towne of Edenborough was with no more heat sought to be recouered, a miserable misfortune happened in an other part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countrie two families of great power and authoritie, both valiant and wise, both harboring deable fad of long hatred betwene them. These two were of the names of Gordon, and of Forboise, whereof the first liued with great concord and amitie amongst themselves,

Skirmishes  
about Eden-  
borough.

An ambush  
laid by the  
kings faction.

The queenes  
part warned  
by the watch  
of Edenbo-  
rough castell.

They which  
laid an ambush  
pursue those  
that came  
forth to set  
by the kings  
part.

A conflict be-  
tweene the  
Gordons and  
the Forboises

The Fozbois  
les disagree  
among them  
selues.

Arthur Foz-  
bois.

Adam Gorden  
disap-  
peareth the  
union of the  
Fozbois.

Arthur Foz-  
bois slaine.

The Foz-  
bois put to  
sight.

The house,  
great bellied  
wife, and chil-  
dren of Alex-  
ander Foz-  
bois burnt.

The Foz-  
bois receiue  
aid from the  
king.

selues, and by the kings sufferance had manie years governed the people adioining vnto them, whereby they purchased both strength amongst themselves, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Fozbois were at wars one with another, baillie impaired their owne strength by their owne slaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confusion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still remaine amongst these families, they did not in manie yeares before attempt anie open warres the one against the other; rather liuing in secret emulation, than open enuie, because they had (in waie of some shew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families together. Among these Fozbois there was one called Arthur (a man of singular wit, and of no lesse readie hand to performe his deuise) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vttermost, from the first time of these discords. This man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherein he must honor himselfe and his name, increase the substance of that part which followed him, & suppress the rage of the Gordons, first laboured to bring his familie to unitie and mutuall loue, for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest strength. The which if he might compass (as by anie possible meanes he would leaue no stone vnturned that might further it) he was then in so good safetie as he desired. For then was there not anie faction or familie in those parts whatsoeuer, whose wealth or strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he did feare.

For furtherance of which vniou, when date and place was appointed to assemble the Fozbois together, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntley (deuising by all policie he might to hinder the same, and hauing priuie intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men vnto the same place (at the time appointed for the assemble of the Fozbois) to breake off their vniou. And although there were two troopes of the Fozbois, which presentlie appeared in their sight, yet before they could ioine their strengths, Adam Gordon speedilie set vpon the one armie (not readie to be succoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Fozbois; who being the hope of all that race and now slaine, his death did so amaze the other, that forthwith the rest were some ouerthrowne, scattered, and fled each one as he might best list for himselfe. In which unhappie conflict some persons of name were presentlie killed, and manie others taken and reserued for ransom. Wherevpon the residue (feareng more crueltie should be vied vpon the prisoners, loath to haue anie more of their race to be cut a waie, and giuing place to the time present) withdrew themselves from the fight, and neuer attempted anie thing afterward in the reuenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and wise suppression of reuenge grew not without iust cause, supposing that their aduersaries (if they were further vrged) would shew no more mercie to such as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of Alexander Fozbois before time, which they burnt with his great bellied wife and the other of his children.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) hauing his house so spoiled, and himselfe hardlie escaping from his enemies hands, hastned to the court, from whence (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be releued. For which cause there were appointed two hundred footmen to such of the nobilitie as fauoured and followed that faction, with letters to the adioining nobilitie to associat themselves to the part of

the Fozbois. These thus considered and came together to the rest of the Fozbois, with certeine other families of their affinitie & neighbours, so aduanced the spirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himselfe sufficientlie fenced against all the forces of his aduersaries. But as their number increased, so there wanted amongst them one person sufficient to infuse the place of a capteine, whome the rest might follow, with all the principals and heads of the families were almost yong men, and scarce one better than others in degree of calling. Wherefore the assemble being diuised into diuerse companies (for they were enforced to follow seuerall leaders) John Beth with five hundred horsemen departed to his house not far from thence. Alexander Fozbois with his retinue and two hundred footmen went to Aberdeen, to expell Adam Gordon from thence, and to repare his armie in the iournie.

Adam Gordon (not sleeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Fozbois, and understanding the approach of his enimie so nere with so small company) assembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to seeme the greater. Shortlie after, in a field next adioining to the towne, the two companies met, and a sharpe conflict was committed betwene them. In which the kings footmen (appointed to the Fozbois) desirous (more hardlie than wisely) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gordons (than their shot of powder would continue) they went so far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defense or helpe of their company) they were put to fearfull flight by the bowmen of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie, and continued the battell vntill night. At what time there were not manie of the vanquished slaine, but mostlie taken and reserued as prisoners, amongst which was the said Alexander Fozbois taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himselfe against his enimies in the same conflict, to the perpetuall glorie of that house.

After the suppression of the Fozbois in the north parts, the quenes fauourers were highlie incouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore assembling their power out of diuerse parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the suppressing of Jedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countrie is vniualled and vnensured, but onclie with the strength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares past had stronglie resisted the force of the quenes faction. Here vnto this towne were neighbours Thomas Ear of Fernherst, and Walter Scot, both which besides their owne retinue had ioined vnto them the people of the next countries, being Lidsdale, Cufan, and Eskine, alwaies troubled with robberte and giuen to spoile, who at that time by the libertie of war strælle without restraint, did wander into further countries, to preie, spoile and catch what they could. Besides whom there were also in Tenuot (aswell by the infection of these countries, as by the custome of spoiling in the wars, for these things were by vse made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of sin) great families defamed with such theft and rapines, and not these alone (with this poison had crept almost ouer all the land) but certeine of the next English pale (being allured with hope of preie, and supposing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined together; and (to make their number the greater, and their power the stronger) called from Edenborough one hundred and twentie harquebushers, chosen out of the chiefeest souldiers, to be assistant vnto them.

The inhabitants of Jedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and considering therevnto all this preparation

The Fozbois follow  
seuerall leaders.  
John Beth  
departed.  
Alexander  
Fozbois goeth  
to Aberdeen.

The Fozbois ouer-  
throwne be-  
sides Aber-  
deen.

Jedworth  
defended  
from assault.

Thomas  
Ear.  
Walter Scot.

Buchan, li. 10.



parasion tended) with spædie & fearefull messengers  
signific vnto John Arskine earle of Mar & regent,  
the present danger wherewith they stood, craving some  
succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them,  
which forthwith was granted accordingly. Where-  
vpon Walter Ear of Stafford, being called before  
the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid  
granted vnto him, as a person who both for balure &  
experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such  
matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient  
number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the  
counties adjoining, for that season assembled them-  
selues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie  
with them at Jedworth. At what time also to strike  
more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage  
of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies  
that William Ruthuine with a hundred shot and  
certaine horsemen (wherof he brought part with him,  
and part he gathered out of the marches adjoining)  
were at the same time coming to Dalbuge with  
the said Ruthuine. All which notwithstanding, the  
queenes faction trusting to their owne strength con-  
fiding in multitude (for they were in number three  
thousand men) did earlie in the morning dræw to-  
wards the towne, to prevent the coming of such  
succours as both were promised, looked for, and then  
almost at hand. Which being by Ruthuine partlie  
before suspected, he hastened the people with more  
spæd to follow them at the heales, and by continuall  
shot worried the taile of his aduersaries with often  
assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Ear  
sent to defend  
Jedworth.

William  
Ruthuine  
with a power  
coming to  
Dalbuge.

Walter Ear  
cometh with  
William  
Ruthuine.

The queenes  
faction lie a-  
wake.

Ruthuine  
with his ar-  
mie cometh  
to Dalbuge.

The queenes  
faction ouer-  
thorne and  
dispersed at  
Dalbuge.

Walter Ear also joining vnto him and to his  
complices the towne men (readie to defend their  
tilles, their goods, their wiues, and their children) toke  
the direct waie towards his enemies, to the end the  
better to suppress them and their united force. Which  
when the aduerser part perceived, forthwith they reti-  
red to places of more defense, lest they should incoun-  
ter their enemies with doubtfull battell; and least be-  
ing set vpon before and behind, they might be sub-  
denlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne  
themselves, either to escape, or to prevent the approach-  
ing enemy. At what time such as sought after spoile,  
and were allured to fight with hope of gaine,  
being now by that means defrauded of their preie,  
when they saw the towne manfully defended, and  
the kings part readie and stronglie come forth to  
battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his  
owne house, as it was necessary to the place where they  
then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any oc-  
casion of danger, being understood of the chiefe of the  
rest of such as were of the queenes faction (supposing  
at the first nothing lesse than that the enemy would  
make vpon them) they also followed after the others,  
raised their campe, and departed to Hawke with  
the rest of their followers and companie of footmen,  
hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the  
sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow,  
which would staie the following of the enemy.

But Ruthuine, iudging it best to vse the oportu-  
nity of time, did before daie so spædilie lead his ar-  
mie to Hawke, that he was within a mile of his  
enemies, before they could by anie means be certi-  
fied of his coming. Whose spædie and vnlooked for  
approch did strike such extreame feare into the hearts  
of those which possessed Hawke, that there was no  
place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that e-  
uerie one should fight for himselfe as well as for  
his might. Whereupon suddnlie bringing forth their  
horses and footmen, and following the course of the  
next riuer, they attempted to withdraw into places  
of more safetie for themselves, and further from  
their enemies. But the horsemen of Ruthuine spæ-  
dilie following at their heales, so prevented their de-

uise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled once all  
the countie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Vpon which the footmen being thus left to the  
spoile and preie of their enemies, did (for their more  
safegard) hide themselves in a little wood adjoining  
to the said riuer. In which, being on euerie side beset  
with the force of their aduersaries (solic determined  
to preie vpon them) they did in the end wholely yield  
themselves with submission to their courtisie. Where-  
vpon (if they were not able like prisoners, for their  
number was once great to be caried about from  
place to place in that sharpe winter) they were (vpon  
their oth to returne and become true prisoners) suf-  
fered harmelesse of bodie, and losselesse of furniture  
to depart, some few being still retained in that place  
as pledges for the others departed companie. But  
when the time of their returne approached, Ruthu-  
die, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, for-  
bad them to returne at their daie appointed, and  
made them incurre the note of perjurie. The rest of  
the winter, and all the next spring was passed forth  
with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings  
and queenes factions, in which few lost their liues,  
and of that few more on the queenes than kings part.  
For the queenes fauourers, remaining in the moun-  
teins next adjoining to the citie, whilst they would  
take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing  
well, would (scarce entering into the danger of the  
conflict) for the most part retire and lie into the citie  
for more defense.

In the meane time, while these things were thus  
ordered, there came manie ambassadors out of Eng-  
land, to pacifie these discords growne to these great  
extremities, betwene the king and the imprisoned  
queenes factions. But the same ambassage so well  
meant by the queene of England, and reiected by the  
seditions of Scotland, sorted not to that end which  
was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required.  
Wherefore these ambassadors returned home with-  
out anie such dispatch as might answer their tra-  
uels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vnittie of  
that quarrelsome people: by reason that the French  
men fauouring the cause of the banished queene, did  
not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots,  
for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres  
for the destruction of their naturall subiects, and to  
bring in their owne gouernement; who for the furthe-  
rance thereof, did with great promises intertaine the  
apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kinde and  
mainteine the fire of continuall warre, untill such  
time as by force they had gotten the upper hand, and  
brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the  
better support wherof, the French king sent some  
portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great, or  
such as their necessitie required, seemed rather suffi-  
cient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the  
warres, than fullie to dispatch or despayre the charges  
or the affaires therein; and that the rather, because  
some part of that monie was euer deuoured by such  
as had the cariage thereof.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a  
few moneths, certaine light skirmishes to little pur-  
pose betwene the aduerser parties. But the greater  
companie, who could not satisfie their eagles minds  
with little flies, abstained not from robbing and bur-  
ning the countie. For Adam Gordon, entering into  
Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglas  
of Glenbernie; but after that long besiege, percei-  
uing that the man whome he fought for, was not to  
be found there, he cruellie destroyed all whatsoeuer  
there was left, consuming it with fire and sword.  
Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impression in-  
to the hearts of those of Dundee, that they despairing  
of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their

Ruthuine  
causeth the  
prisoners not  
to returne at  
their daie ap-  
pointed.

Ambassadors  
causeth the  
prisoners not  
to returne at  
their daie ap-  
pointed.

The French  
king sendeth  
somewhat into  
Scotland.

Adam Gor-  
don entereth  
Angus, and  
besiegeth the  
house of Wil-  
liam Dow-  
glas.

The people of Dun-  
dee craue  
aid out of  
F. sc.

neighbours of fife unto their aid, ſith they were next adioining unto them, unto whom alſo Gordon was a perſecuting enimie continuallie in all that poſſible he might, becauſe they conſtantlie and ſubiect like did in all dutie ſupport the kings part.

Blackneſſe  
betrayed.

At which time Blackneſſe being betrayed to the Hamiltons by the keeper of that caſtell, did greatly hinder the traffike and paſſage betwene Leith and Sterling. For which cauſe the regent as a perſon that had fullie looked into the dangers of that time, and with wiſe forecaſt ſought to prevent following evils, brake downe all the mills about Edinburgh, furniſhed all the noble mens houſes and places of defence with garrifons nere unto the towne, and cloſed vp all paſſage to and from the citie. For now there was ſtreſh ſkirmiſhing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed queene were taken priſoners, put to their ranſome, compelled to abjure their faction, kept in continuall priſon, or elſe preſentlie ſlaine.

Edinburgh  
mills broken.

Priſoners  
taken both on  
the king and  
queens part.

Theſe things thus depending, and the king and the deposed queenes faction contending ſtill to ſupport their parts, the matter did dailye more and more grow to great ſlaughters: which being well perceived by ſouereine nations (pitieng the preſent calamities, and ſeeking to provide to ſtaie the following diſſention of that countrie which was like to be at hand upon theſe ciuill and unnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore) the queene of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king alſo the confederat of Scotland, ſent their ambadaors into the realme, to ſee what qualification might be had in theſe troubleſome and dangerous times of the kings minority: hoping either to ſet a ſmall end to theſe inconueniences, or at leaſt to mitigate and ſtaie that furie, that it ſhould not at that preſent, or during the kings minority paſſe anye further. For the accompliſhment whereof, ſir William Durye knight, and Thomas Randolpheſquier, were ſent from the queene of England: and monſieur de Croque, who had alſo bene ambadaor out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe ſent thither from the French king.

The queene  
of England &  
the French  
king ſend am-  
badaors into  
Scotland.

Theſe much about one time arriuing in Scotland, and ioining together concerning the execution of their ambadaſſage, dealt ſo effectually therein, that in the end they concluded an abſtinenſe of warre to be had betwene the parties of the king and queenes faction, from that time which was about the fiſt of Auguſt, to continue vntill the fiſt of December following: and ſo brought both the parties in concluſion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarrels to be ſet downe by the queene of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambadaors returned home, monſieur Croque into France, and ſir William Durye and maſter Randolph into England.

An abſtinenſe  
of warre for  
a time.

Sir William  
Durye and  
maſter Ran-  
dolph go into  
Scotland.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering ſickneſſe (as ſome affirme) but Leſeus ſaith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that morte repentina concidit) being buried in Allowate a place of his owne, ſituate foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erle dome ſucceeded John erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following diſcourſe ſhall appeare. Which John Areskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Spurrie daughter to the lard of Tullebarton, by whom he had iſſue this John, which ſucceeded him in the erle dome of Marre (as is before ſaid) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Dowglaffe now earle of Angus: but he died without iſſue. Of which deſcended Areskine earle of Marre, Buchanan compoſed theſe verſes commendatorie, expreſſing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour

The death  
of the earle  
of Marre.

of the ſaid earle in this ſortie and maner following:

*Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,  
Pace grauem nullis, tempore vtroque pitum;  
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude carentem,  
Rebus in ambiguis ſuſpitione fidem,  
Siquis ob has dotes, ſeuiſſa iactata procellis,  
Fugit in illius patrias ſeſſa pedem:  
Vera quidem memoret, ſed non & propria: laudes  
Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter erit:  
Iktud & proprium eſt, longæ quod in ordine vitæ  
Nil odium aut liuor, quod reprehendit, habet.*

Upon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long conſultation for the election of a new regent to ſucceed in his place, that might in all reſpects defend the kings perſon and the realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the noble men, aſſembling for that cauſe, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that laſt regent, elect by one conſent the earle Moray to that office, a man no leſſe wiſe than prouident, and ſuch a perſon, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, good ſeruite to the realme and to the king, did well merit the ſame. After whoſe election, the two princes, the Engliſh queene, and the French king, minding to make a full concluſion of peace and amitie, and to ſettle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abſtinenſe of warre before named continued, ſend their ambadaors to the regent and ſtates of Scotland: Which ambadaors were maſter Henrie Killigrew eſquire for England, and monſieur de Cleracke for France. But as monſieur de Cleracke was diſlodged from the coaſts of France, and upon the ſea in his iourneie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could atſeine to the ſhore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongſt the Scots to perſorme his ambadaſſage. Which being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their moſt aid & ſureſt friendſhip would come forth of England from that prince, whoſe religion, blood, affinity, and neigbhorhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end reſolve themſelues, that both the affection, as well of the yong king, and of the impriſoned queene, ſhould reſerre themſelues to the queene of England, to make a ſmall concluſion of all controuerſies and troubles which were then amongſt them.

Earle Moray  
made re-  
gent.

Maſter Hen-  
rie Killigrew  
ſent into  
Scotland.

Whereupon the ſaid Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwene all the lords of Scotland after this maner. In Februarie following the new creation of this regent Moray, there aſſembled at Perth, or ſaint Johns towne (by eſpeciall edict therefore) the greater part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Atholl, and others: who pitieng the miſerie of their countrie, condeſcended that the queene of England ſhould by hir ambadaor, ſet a quiet end and order amongſt them. Which the ſaid Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordingly, extending the ſame vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except ſuch as were in the caſtell of Edinburgh: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, ſecretarie Lidington, the lord Baſſalrege, and others: who rather deſirous of warre than peace, as perſons metellic well inured therewithall, would not conſent to anye peace, other than ſuch as might ſtand with their owne liking, and ſupport of the impriſoned queenes faction, which they earneſtly followed, as after ſhall more appeare.


But before this final agreement, as I haue bene credible informed, there was a parlement called at Edinburgh to begin the fifteenth of January, in which were aſſembled the earle Moray regent, the earles of Angus, Argyle, Glenearne, Caſſels,

An aſſembly  
at ſaint  
Johns towne.

1573  
A parlement  
at Edinburgh  
rough

sels, Eglington, Mountroffe, and young Marthall, for the earle Marthall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindsete, Clames, Simple, Boid, Marthwell, Heris, Grate, Oliphant, Sinclair, Forbois, Chart, Ochiltre, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the borowis of Edenborough, Striueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andriewis, Glasgou, Lithgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemblie were chosen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, and Mountroffe, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsete, Boid, Simple, and Heris, with the bishops of saint Andriewis & Dikenele, the abbats of Aberbozth, Dunfirmiling, Canbuskineth, and Newbottle, besides the prior of saint Marie Ile and Portiniake, which were also adioined unto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following.

The articles and acts of the parlement holden at Edenborough the 25 of Ianuarie.

- 1  The approbation and ratification of the regiment.
- 2 Annent the true and holie kirke, and desiering of the true ministers & members thereof.
- 3 That name of the aduersaries and enmities of Gods truth shall inioie the patrimonie of the kirke.
- 4 That like of the disobedients as shall be received to merrie and pardon, protest the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrees and execution of the counsell of Trent.
- 5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge yet baile during the kings minority.
- 6 Annent recovering of the iewels, householdstuffe, munition, and moveables, such as sometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highnesse use and behofe.
- 7 A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the invaliditie of all things attempted in anie name, and under color of whatsoeuer other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.
- 8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhenes maiestie of England, for the defense of forren inuasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be drawne into the same.
- 9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annent masse and glebis.
- 10 Annent the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet bulls or pponition to benefices with antedats.
- 11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie counsell, made in the reigne of the quhenes the kings mother, annent the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.
- 12 Annent execution against persons excommunicat.
- 13 Annent the reparation of parish kirks.
- 14 Annent proceeding in cause of priuile.
- 15 Annent the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.
- 16 A confirmation of the infeffment of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glasgou. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parlement, there was the same aduise given to the regent, touching the receiving to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delaing of pursute of the murder of the

kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought god to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.

During the time of which session of this parlement, manie occurrents deseruing remembrance hapened after the said fiftenth of Ianuarie. For Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castilians were put from falling out of the castell gate, where capteine Craford, and capteine Hume laie with their hands to keepe them in. Forwith standing all which, they within repaired vnto a porterne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and set water at their pleasure: which being espied by their enemies, capteine Michaele and his band came from Dondiske to stop their passage thereto. Who within thre daies after such his approach, destroyed their well, and enforced them to keepe within the walls of the castell: at what time the regent advanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bullworke or spurre of that castell to the well part: and from thence, to saint Cutberts kirke: so that with the water lieng on the south-westside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholie inuironed. During which siege, the sixteenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the fornamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourescore and seuen great shot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poxe dog that was slaine before the doore of the regents house: although men, women, and childzen did daile frequent and passe the streets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not more strange than this: that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Ianuarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) above six persons, and within the castell but thre, with as manie hurt betwene the tolbooth and the spurre of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of thre traueses made ouerthwart the streets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at what time also the tolbooth and the church was fenced with a rampier forced of turfes, fagots, and other stuffe fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietlie and safelie to the church to heare diuine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

During which doings in the castell & the towne, In abstinence there was an abstinence granted at the sute of the ambassadoz of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentieth of February: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with the said ambassadoz for an accord to be had betwene the king and imprisoned quenes faction. Whereupon sir James Balford came to the regents grace, obtained pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agreement. The earle of Argile was aduanced to the honour of the chancelloship. And Alexander Areskine master of Parre was appointed to haue the keeping of the kings person vpon certeine conditions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure sureties, lords of the parlement, to be bound for him bodie and lands, hauing fiftene daies appointed vnto him to consider thereof, whether he would enter in to so great a charge or no. And if in case he should refuse to accept the same, it was further resolved and concluded, that the erles of Glencarne and Buchanan,

skirmishes about Edenborough.

Sir James Balford submitted himselfe to the regent. Officers created.

James Kirkcaldie on-  
trench Eden-  
borough cas-  
tell.

quhan, the lord Glanes, and master Marshall should have the keeping of the king quarterlie one after another. And if anie of the four should happen, during the time of his quarterlie government, to be sicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindesie should be assistant to him in that government, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, James Kirkcaldie arrived in the Blackenese in a small pinnesse, and entred the castell of Edenborough, with such monie as he had provided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castell of Edenborough to be reassaged and intrenched both by sea and land, and was the cause that capteine Bruce falling forth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to provide vittels, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithstanding all this, yet the others within the castell continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his companie, farre otherwise than was supposed that either they could or would do.

1573

The taking  
of Edenbo-  
rough castell  
by the Eng-  
lish and the  
regent of  
Scotland.

Whereupon the regent of Scotland solicited the queene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots his cousine, thus grievously molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the queene of England sent a power of sixtene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castell, over whom sir William Dourie knight and marshall of Berwik was made generall, with such capitains as follow; which were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capitains, as Read, Parleie, Wood, Byckwell, Wheman, Gam, Cale, Carlew, Errington prouost marshall, Astoll, Sterleie capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne free will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carle, sir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord trespour of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Belwaie, Dier, Cilneie, William Bailegrewe, & manye other gentlemen of good estimation did associate themselves with convenient number to attend vpon them. These with their generall passed from Berwik to Leith, where they met with maister Henrie Bailegrewe the queene of Englands ambassadoe, whose care, trauell, & furtherance at that time deserved no small commendation; and with the Scottish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to ioine with the English in the behalfe of the yong king against such as tooke part with the deposed queene. Which Scottish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Dorton regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kindred, and such as fauoured the yong king, distressed by the deposed queene, as was pretended. After the iointing of these two nations, they on the five and twentieth of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the same daie sir William Dourie the generall summoned the castell of that towne in forme as followeth.

#### The summons giuen to the castell of Edenborough.

**S**ir William Kirkcaldie, sometimes of Orange knight, forsomuch as the queens maiestie my soueraigne ladie, vpon the earnest request of hir dere cousin the king of Scots your soueraigne lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all good meanes used to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not duly harkened vnto, to the onlie hinderance of the vniuersall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castell, meaning

(as it seemeth) to reserve the same for a receptacle of fozen forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my soueraigns; and therefore necessarie to remoue so perillous a danger to both the realmes, for which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the said castell to the said kings vse and behoefe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, iewels, household stuffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoefe of the king your soueraigne and his regent in his name, immediately after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obey, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpose my selfe to trauell with the regent, counsell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your lines, &c: otherwile, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be pursued to the uttermost, and holden as enemies to hir maiestie, your owne soueraigne, and countrie. Given at Edenborough by me sir William Dourie knight generall of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this five and twentieth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1573.

This letter by the lord Orange capteine of the castell thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their blood, did vnterlie denie the surrender of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselves. Wherewith the English generall greatlye grieved, did incontinently rebelliue such answer to the said lord Orange as wrought an vtter discontent and mislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie therevpon against the castell. After which euerie one hastening the cause of his comming, & ioining their force together, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie siege to the castell in five severall places, where were five severall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William Dourie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carle, the fourth was called sir Henrie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thousand, wherof sixtene hundred were English, and the other five hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie peeces of artillerie containing six canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and six sacres. Whilest the armie without was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the capteine of the castell (to hinder the twowe) liberallie saluted the pioners & other soldiers with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and vpon and about the walles thereof; whereby manie were hurt, some slaine, but more hindered by the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerser part forgot not to requite the castilians, but mostlie after that the pioners and labouers had finished

med the mounts. At what time they gaue vehement and sharpe assault to the castell, although that the creame heat thereof began not untill the seauententh daie of Maie following. In which siege on the said seauententh daie of Maie, the castell was most roughlie assailed by thirtie shot of canons discharged against the same. At what time those peeces so well performed their parts against Dauid's tower, that the force of the English canons was easie to be then and long after seene therein. Which assault continued untill the one and twentieth daie of Maie following, on which daie the whole batterrie began not againe as before against part, but wholie round about on eery side of the castell. For untill then Dauid's towre was onelie the marke of the entrie: but after that day they laid out their power in euerie place, offering and defending eche others soldiers, as well with in the castell as within the mounts and trenches, in that sharpe conflict hurting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the English began to be so great, that they forthwith displaced the ordinance in the castell, and strooke one of their greatest peeces fast in the mouth: whereby the same was broken, and the castilians force somewhat abated.

After this, on the fir and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Maie, there was a fresh assault given at seuen of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defense or blockehouse before the said castell) which by the assailants was taken, & forthwith upon the entrance therein was the banner of the generall displayed and set up, to declare who possessed the same, to the great discomfort of them in the castell. For although before they had lost the vse of one of their great peeces, that their walles were battered, that some of their men were slaine, & that they had almost all their water taken from them: yet would they not yeld, neither did anie whitt begin to despaire of keeping the castell, or repelling the enemy: untill such time as the English had now gotten the possession of the Spurre.

Now, during the time that these gaue the assault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Englishmen and Scots, that had in charge to make shew of a fresh assault, at the west part of the castell; to the end that such as laid batterrie to the Spurre, might with more ease to themselves, and lesse suspicion of the aduerser part, obtaine the said Spurre. But this last named band, ouer hastilie putting themselves in aduenture beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and diuised to the recoile, with the hurt and losse of thirtie persons, or thereabouts. All which notwithstanding, the castilians (perceiuing their chiefeest defense the Spurre to be lost, and not greatly reioicing of this small victorie ouer those which assailed them on the west side) did the same daie by a dynamicke demand parlee: which they obtained with truce of peace from that daie, untill the eight and twentieth of Maie next following. For which cause the lord of Pittarvold was let downe by a rope from the castell, and after him the lord of Orange, capteine of the said castell, with Robert Meluine; all which came to haue conference with the generall sir William Durrrie, & such other persons as were chosen to accompanie him about the same. In the end, upon much conference had betwene the Scottish lords and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentieth daie (in which the truce ended) deliuered by into the hands of the said sir William Durrrie, which he kept in his possession for a certeine time; during whose abode in the castell, he set up and spread his ensignes and banners upon sundrie parts of the wals of the same.

This done, the generall (after quiet possession had,

not determining to retaine it vnto his mistresse vse, sith he was onelie appointed by hir to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as took his part) did after (according to his commission) deliuer ouer the same castell to the vse of the young king of Scots; for which cause not meaning bitterlie to spoile the castell, he gaue but part of the spoile to the vse of the soldiers, leauing the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For before the surrender of the castell, it was agreed, that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obtained it by composition, that then they should wholie haue inioied the full spoile by the space of three daies, the artillerie onelie excepted, which should be carried awaie by the English. But sith for these causes following, the same could not abide anie long siege, but must of necessitie yeld it selfe, there was euerie part of the said spoile giuen vnto the soldiers upon the deliuerie of the same castell to sir William Durrrie. The causes of which surrender were manie.

First, for that they were depriued of water, because the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell wals; & the other well without could not serue them, because there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was vnknewe to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurre, out of which they were wont to haue a pint a daie for euerie soldier. The other causes of surrender were these.

Secondlie, diuerse persons were sicke, especiallie thorough drinke of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had bene poisoned by some of their enemies.

Thirdlie, diuerse others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take anie rest, being so pined and dailie wearied with batterrie.

Fifthlie, diuerse of the soldiers diuided in opinions.

Sixthlie, some were no soldiers at all.

Seauenthlie, that no aid was to be looked for by the waie of France.

The eight and chiefe cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengths round about, and the horsemen dailie and nightlie watching and riding, which held and took from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began. All these eight causes moued the said surrender of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixteenth daie of June following, the prisoners were deliuered by the said sir William Durrrie, in the presence of sundrie Scots & Englishmen, vnto the regent; and that done, the same daie sir William Durrrie departed with his power to Bertholme. The names of the prisoners were these; sir William Bircain, die lard of Orange, and capteine of the castell of Edenborough, the lord Yume, William Spetollan, lord of Lethington secretaire, the lord of Pittarvold, constable of the castell, the countesse of Argile, the ladie of Lethington and the ladie of Orange, with others. But yet the priuat soldiers & others of meaner sort were suffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Edenborough wone, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; in so much as manie thought it took the name of the maiden castell, for that it had not bene wone at any time before except by famine or practise. Which opinion being common is so much the faller, in that the common sort do embrace it, for that they will incline to common fables. For this castell was not furnished the maiden castell, because it was neuer taken



ken by force : but because the princes children were there nourished, as maie well appeare by that which I shall set downe touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof; of which there be diuerse opinions, For some will haue it to be built by Eboracus, of some called Ebzancus king of Brittaines, called also in Britissh Castle mynd Agnes, the castell of saint Agnes hill, afterward the castell of birgins. But Lelless will haue it built long after the time of H. Lhoid, by the space of six hundred foure score and foure peares, for thus he writeth. *Christneus Camelodunum primariam Pictorum urbem & Agnedam postea Eboracum ab Ebo quondam rege dictam, cum pulcherrimo castro, ubi regis & nobilium Pictorum filie domi nuptiis darentur, seruari, & preceptis ad humanitatem & virtutem informari solebant, condidit.* A little before which, the said Lelless writeth that Fergusus died Anno ante Christi in carnem aduentum 305, & that *Eo tempore Efdadus Britonum & Christneus Camelonus Pictorum imperium tenebant.* Now this king Chutneus that built Agneda, lived before Christ thre hundred and five peares by the Scots account, and Eborac or Eboranhe lived nine hundred foure score & nine peares before Christ: so that the Englishmen make this towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Lelless hath mistaken himselfe, following Boetius, to place Camelodunum in Scotland: so hath he appointed Eborac to be built by the Scots, being built by the Brittaines. But true it might be that Eborac first builded it, & that being in the space of six hundred foure score and foure peares wasted and utterly decayed, the same was afresh erected by Chutneus, and after repared by Ethus. The castell of which towne, being sometime appointed for the bringing vp of the daughters of the noblemen of the Picts, untill they were marriageable, was for that cause (and not because it was neuer wonne by force) called the maiden castell, as the said Lelless affirmeth. But after, when christianitie came into Scotland, it was called (as I coniecture) Agneda, because it was the castell that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not before the coming of Christ so called Agneda, as hitherto it hath bene set downe, but not rightlie; as I maie with reuerence speake vnder correction of such as by better authoritie can disproue that I saie.

But here let vs a little leaue the countrie soile of Scotland, and such things as were there then done; and talke somewhat of the persons of that realme, who performed matter of valoure in foreign countries. Whilste the towne of Leiden was stronglie besieged (in the moneth of Iune) and that the towne men (hauing a needfull and heedfull care) were altogether imployed about making of provision of all such things as were deemed necessarie for the defense of the same towne; the principall part of the commanders armie arrived in Bommell quarters, Gorcum, and Lowiesstein. Hotwell the prince and the estates of the low countries made no great account thereof, by reason that Bommell (which was well furnished of all things necessarie for the wars) was vnder the custodie of capteine Banfoure, cornell of the Scottishmen, who had there attending on him the number of seauen Scottish ensignes. Which Scots desirous to performe some matter of valoure, daily sallied out of the towne with some of the citizens and gentlemen Hollanders; in which often issuing they valiantlie skirmished with the enemies. Whereby in the end amongst their sundrie conflicts there were manie warlike exploits performed by the Scots, which deserued not to be forgotten: as well for that they often repelled the enemy, and kept their strength together; as for that they being few in number, aduentured (beyond the hope of god hap, by encountering with a greater troupe of such as came

against them, than they were themselves) either to retorne victors, or to lose their liues.

After which also the same Scots, continuing in those low countries, performed manie other matters of martiall exploits, which I will set downe in this place. For which I haue bene denied of some of the Scots (whom these amittes chiefly concerne) such things as might supplie the default of sufficient matter of Scotland to furnish the same; and for that I haue bene defrauded of the performance of promise made vnto me by manie others of that nation, who for dutie vnto that countrie ought, and for clearing some misse opinion conceived against them of their actions in their owne countrie should haue sought to further me in these my labours: I must leaue things done in Scotland, and turne my pen to other places; producing matter to helpe my barren discourse; which inforced me vnto both deliuer an action performed by the Scots in the same low countries; where they which were then in seruice against the Spaniards, vnder the pae of the prince of Orange, did that which deserueth not to be forgot.

These Scots therefore remaining in those countries, seruing vnder the conduct of their coronell furnished Banfoure, did in Januarie set forth a meet with the Spaniards at a place called the Frootdale, distant not much more than a mile from Leige, where was a long and sharpe conflict betwene these two nations. In which by the successe of battell (for the most part yielding victorie vnto the stronger side) a great multitude of them were left dead in the place, and the rest dynten to saue themselves by flight from their enemies: who yet felt not this ouerthrow so sweet and gainefull, but that they lost manie of their people before the Scots were put to the worst.

But leauing these Scots in the middle of the wars of these countries vnder the prince of Orange, we are to come to other matters following by succession of time; which hath deliuered to vs that Margarete the daughter & heire of Archibald Douglas earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March in the yeare of our redemption 1577, beginning the yeare at the Annuntiation of the virgin. Which labie being borne at Harbotell castell in England in the yeare of Christ 1515, was afterward brought vp in England; and then being pitifully affianced in the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ 1536, to Thomas Howard youngest brother to the duke of Norfolk, he was that yeere committed prisoner to the tower; but after set at libertie the last of October, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1537, & married to Matthew Steward earle of Lennox by the consent of Henrie the eight king of England, in the yeare of our saluation 1544. After which, being tolled with both fortunes, sometime in aduersitie, & sometime in prosperitie, he was notwithstanding alwaies honorable intertained in England, as both his birth in respect of his kingle blood, and his calling in respect of his place, did worthilie deserue. In the end, to cut off all his other aduersities, and to draw to things falling in mine owne knowledge, he was on the two and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1565 (vpon the marriage of his sonne Henrie Steward lord Darnley vnto Marie Steward quene of Scots) commanded by the quene of England first to keepe his chamber in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where he remained untill the two and twentieth daie of Iune next ensuing; and was then by sir Francis Knolles (one of the princie counsell and vicechamberleine to the quene of England) and by some other of the gard conueied to the towne of London by water; in which place he remained prisoner untill that

Humphred, Lhoid, in bren. Brit. I. Stow.

Lelless lib. 2. pag. 84.

Campeidus in Scotia factus ab Eboraco Britanno ant ab Ebo Picto Edinburgum deducere quod aliud est quam scribi in p. 1102

1576  
The Scots deny their furtherance to the writing of the annals of Scotland.

The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 4.

The Scots put to flight besides Leige.

1577

Some part of the life of Margarete Douglas.

1574  
The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 3.

The Scots repelled their enemies at Bommell.

I. Stow.

that his sonne the said Henrie Steward was miserable and traitorouslie slaine by the earle Bothwell and his complices (as some affirme, but how trulie I know not) vpon the twentieth of Februarie one thousand five hundred three score & six. In which yeare, on the two and twentieth of the same moneth, the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the towe and set at libertie, who still remaining in England did (as before is said) in the three score & second yeare of his age, and in the first yeare of his widow-  
 hood, surrender his soule to God, being most honorable buried & answerable to his calling in the great chapel of Westminster (built by Henrie the seventh king of England) among the kings of that realme in an inward chapel standing on the right & the southside of the said great chapel. The yeare before whose death his sonne Charles Steward earle of Lennox (having before married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Candish, by whom he had issue Arbella) did also depart this life. Over the bodies of both which persons, Thomas Fowler erecutor to the said ladie Margaret, did with the goods of the said ladie erect a coslie and statelie towe of rich stone and curious workmanship, with the picture of that ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might afford it, about which monument is grauen this memorable epitaph declaring his nobilitie, as insueth.

At the head of the towe is set downe

*Memoria sacrum.*

*Margareta Douglasia, Matthei Stuarti Leuinie comitis uxori, Henrici septimi Angliae regis ex filia nepti, potentiss. regibus cognatione coniunctissima, Iacobi sexti regis auia, matrona sanctiss. moribus, et inuisa animi patientia, incomparabili P.*

*Obijt Martij decimo Anno*

*Domini 1577.*

On the right side of which towe is this ingrauen.

*Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu regibus ac proavis nobilitata suis: Inde Calidonij australibus, inde Britannis A edita principibus, principibusque parens: Qua mortis fuerant soluit latissima mortis, Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to James the first now king. This Henrie was murdered at the age of one and twentie yeares, Charles the yongest sonne was earle of Lennox father to the late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie yeares, and is here intomed.

On the left side of the towe is this ingrauen.

This ladie had to his great grandfather king Edward the fourth, to his grandfather king Henrie the seventh, to his uncle king Henrie the eight, to his cousin germane king Edward the first, to his brother king James of Scotland the first, to his sonne king Henrie the first, to his grandchild king James the first, having to his great grandmother and grandmother two queens both named Elisabeth, to his mother Margaret queene of Scots, to his aunt Marie the French queene, to his cousines germane Marie and Elisabeth queens of England, to his neere and daughter in law Marie queene of Scots.

At the foot of his towe is this written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox, daughter and sole heire to Archibald Douglas earle of Angus, by Margaret queene of Scots his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie the seventh, which bare vnto Matthew earle of Lennox his husband, foure sonnes and foure daughters.

Which honourable towe, with these supercriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun

and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Margaret. This ladie being (as before is shewed) countesse of Lennox and Angus, it will not be amisse to declare in this place, what became of both the said earledoms, as well in his life, as after his and his sonne Charles his death. Touching Angus, this ladie Margaret, vpon the marriage of his son Henrie lord Darnelie, which was solemnized the nine and twentieth daie of Iulie 1565, to Marie queene of Scots, did giue the said earledome with all the rights and members thereof vnto the said queene Marie, to dispose as fell best vnto his liking. Wherevpon the said queene bestowed that honour and earledome vpon Archibald Douglas earle of Angus, to the said ladie Margaret: who being erles, was here in England at the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennox, after the slaughter of Matthew earle of Lennox (husband to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571, but 1572 as hath Lelcus, was inuested in Charles James the first king of Scotland, heire in blood to the said Matthew earle of Lennox, father to Henrie lord Darnelie (that married the queene) father to the said James the first. Wherevpon the yong king, mindfull of the advancement of his uncle Charles sonne to the said Margaret, did inuest the said Charles with the honour of the said earledome of Lennox, which Charles died in the life of his mother Margaret without heire male, by reason whereof the said earledome reuerted to the crowne.

But here leaving the title and succession of the earles of Lennox to another place following (sith I am entered into the discourse of such of the earles & countesses of Lennox as be dead) I thinke it better in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox slaine at Sterling (as is before touched) in the yeare of Christ 1571. For although the same matter would more aptlie haue bene placed before at the end of the historie of Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the beginning of my continuance of the annales of that countrie, when I mention the death of the said earle: yet sith the note of that epitaph came not vnto my hands, vntill I had thus farre proceeded in the historie; and the same also at that time passed the print (whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I will here (having so good occasion therfore) intreating of the towe of his wife (whose charge also wanted not in erecting of this towe of his slaine husband, and so; that this doth also touch some part of his epitaph) insert the same in this place after this manner, as it is written vpon the statelie towe of the said Matthew Lennox, and now standing in the chapel within Sterling castell, being as hereafter followeth.

*The epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox.*

Lo here a prince and potentate,  
 whose life to vnderstand,  
 Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,  
 though from his natue land  
 His enemies thrice did him out thring,  
 he thrice returned againe,  
 Was lawfull tutor to the king,  
 and regent did remaine:  
 Where he with rigor rebels rackt,  
 the right for to defend,  
 Till enemies old through tyrans trackt,  
 did worke his fatall end.  
 Lo thus respects the death no wight,  
 When God permits the time,  
 Yet shall the vengeance on them light  
 that wrought that cursed crime.

Besides which also on the same towe are these herotical verses set downe, declaring his name, his descent, his marriage, his issue, his offices, and such other

ther matters belonging vnto him, as followeth,

Behold herein interred is,

Matthew of Lennox earle,

Who long of late in Britaine soile,

did liue a pearlesse pearle.

And as he was of roiall bloud,

by roiall progenie,

From Stewards stocke of ancient time,

princes of Albanie :

His fortune was euen so to match,

with passing vertuous wight,

Whose race deriued from famous kings,

of widerenowned might.

His mother queene of Scotland was,

and eldest daughter deare,

Of Henrie seuenth English king,

a princelie mirror cleare.

Hir father earle of Angus was,

the ladie Margaret hight,

The onclie heire of Angus lands,

and all his fathers right.

Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,

for both by grace diuine

Are come of Northwales princes hault,

which were of Troians line.

And diuerse goodlie imps there were,

that issued from them twaine :

Charls James now king, and \* Charls the earle

of them dooth still remaine,

King Henrie father to this king,

their first begotten sonne :

Oh cruell fates! the which so soone,

his vitall dired vnsponne,

By whose deuise the grandfire came,

lord regent in this land :

And noblie bare the regall sword

of iustice in his hand,

Whereby he did in tender age

of the kings maiestie,

This realme protect with fortitude,

prudence and equitie.

But now damefame with flickering wings

withouten anie let,

Shall spread abroad this worthie man,

and through the world him set.

And tearing time shall not consume,

nor weare the same awaie,

But with the worthiest reckned be,

vnill the latter daie.

After which time, eternitie

dooth triumph then by right :

Where he with angels shall reioise,

in Gods eternall sight.

\* Besides which English epitaph these verses were also composed by Buchanan vpon the same earle of Lennox, wherein is not onclie set downe (as before) the honourable birth of the man, but also some of the places of his education, with other things which right fortunatlie happened vnto him in this sort.

*Regis aui, regis pater, alto è sanguine regum*

*(Imperio quorum terra Britannia subest)*

*Matheus genuit Leuina, Gallia fons,*

*Pulsò Anglus thalamum rēmg, decusq, dedit.*

*Capi inuicta manus, famam virtute refelli,*

*Arma armis vici, consilioq, dolos.*

*Gratus in ingratos: patriam iusteq, piq,*

*Cum regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi.*

*Chare\* nepos, spes vna domus, meliore senectam*

*Attingis futo, cetera dignus auro.*

Thus setting end to the lines & deaths of this Matheus Steward erle of Lennox, of Margaret Delu glasse his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to their sumptuous sepulchres, we will come backe againe to such others, either generall or speciall, acci-

dents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland, and which will touch the vniuersall gouernement, or the particular occurrents as well of Scottish as of other foren affaires managed by them at home, or in other countries, therewithall ioining the discourse of such things as haue bene performed by other nations in that kingdome. Amongst which accidents in Scotland this rarelie happened, that the earle Dorton surrendered his protectorship or regentship of the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I make twofoldie count rare, fith men in so great authoritie of commanding all persons, can hardlie be brought to giue ouer such honour, and to yeld the themselves to the commandement of others, because *Qui primatus sui autoritatem perdit, in despectionem & angustiam se mittit: qui autem locum suum sapienter custodit, se ad suos ad profectum dirigit.* And Was the philosopher knew, that it was a most hard thing of all other, and onelie fauouring of great magnanimitie and wisdom, *Fortiter ferre mutationes rerum in deterius.* But he being verie wise, feared not the alteration of his estate, but rather desired to be rid thereof, considering the weightinesse and danger which depended thereupon, and remembryng that notable sayeng of Gregorie in his apozals, declaring the singular good of such, which do thyn the gouernement of tempoall things, in these wordes. *Quasi quodam ingo seruitutis premunt prospera, dum appetuntur; premunt aduersa dum formidantur. At si quis semel dominationem desideriorum temporalium a collo mentis excuserit, quodam iam etiam vita libertate perfruitur, & dum nullo desiderio felicitatis afficitur, nullo aduersitatis errore corripitur.*

This earle Dorton (I saie) surrendred his office (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in this yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie & seven, at what time also Robert Bowes esquier was then in Scotland for hir maiestie of England. Upon the removing of which erle Dorton there were no moze regents in that countrie, but the king toke vpon him to rule the realme by himselfe & by such curators as he shuld appoint therfore. For the king now about the twelfe yeare of his age thought he might aswell take vpon him the gouernment of the countrie by himselfe, and such as he appointed at those yeares, as manie of his ancestors had done before in their yong yeares; notwithstanding the opinion of manie of the better sort of the presbiterie, which mainteine that he cannot absolute lie rule, or perfectlie establish anie thing by the cu- stomes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of five and twentie yeares. But we find in their olde histories of Scotland, written euen by men of best iudgement, that James the second of that name king of Scots, did in the fourteenth yeare of his age, in the seventh yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred fortie and four, put Alexander Leutifone knight from his regentship, and toke vpon himselfe the absolute gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writeth Lesleus. *Gubernatoris cancellarijque concilio & iussu factum est, vt omnium ordinum comitijs Striueling indies diceretur. An. Dom. 440. mense Ianuarij, omnium assensu est constitutum, vt rex suum regnum lustrans, contentiones sopiat, causas decidat, conciones suas dirimat, reliquaq, reipublice negotia presens procuraret. Multi nobiles sese comites itinere adiungunt, qui in illius societatem se penitus immergentes, odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, persuadent regi, vt aliorum seruituti se premi diuini non sinat: sed vt omni iugo excussis, ipse sibi reipublica gubernanda partes assumat. Is iuuenilis quodam regnandi ardore incensus, illorum voces tanquam Syrenum cantum in suas aures effluere liberalissimè patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regnum solum preceps irruit, ac vt publicis comitijs solus praeset, omnes ordines Striuelingum vocat, 4 Nouembri 1444.*

*Gl. super ill. eccl. 23. melius est vt sit.*

The earle Dorton surrendred his regentship.

The kings of Scotland take on them, to rule the realme without procurators being with in age.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 295.

\* This was Charles earle of Lennox buried in the same which his grandmothe the ladie Margaret Lennox before mentioned lay liued after the death of this Matheus his grandfather.

\* James the first king of Scots.

After

After which, about five yeares following, the same James, to shew his absolute and sufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Christ 1449, in the nineteenth yeare of his age, and the twelfth yeare of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Gourdon earle of Huntclie, and George Leslie a baron earle of Rothesie. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but sixteen yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred foure score & eight, admitted the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleus. James the fifth the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentieth and eight, in the seventeenth yeare of his age, & about the fiftieth yeare of his gouernement, removed the earle of Angus from the regentship, and took vpon himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now living king of Scots, did in like sort in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland appoint procurators to gouerne the realme, whilst she remained in France with the French king hir husband. But enough of this, sith Lesleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and also in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may assume to themselves the gouernement of the kingdome, after that they haue attained to the crowne in those yeares, which are ouer tender and unfit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe over the same, I thinke it not meet in this place, sith we haue mentioned this portion which was the last regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England at the end of the gouernement of the duke of Summerfet, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minority or his insufficiencie of gouernement, or during his absence out of the realme.

Conanus.

**C**onanus was gouernour vnder Thereus about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seven: for Thereus renouncing the kingdome and fleeing to Poike, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thereus, was regent or gouernour, of whom writeth Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 87. Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optime administraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem substituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Iosina eius frater successit.

Cadallus.

**C**adallus living about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seuentie and nine, did pursue Gillus (the bastard of Cuenus) having slain the sonne of Cuenus, and usurping the crowne, of whom thus writeth Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 92. Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortissimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in illum (which was Gillus) conspirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam assecuti, inica prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plecutur.

Argadus earle of Argile.

**A**rgadus earle of Argile, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and eight, was cast in prison for his euill life, was by the nobilitie chosen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus

holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe iustice of Scotland to him and his heires, which function at this daie the earles of Argile do inioie by inheritance.

**D**onald, Colollan, Morbach and Conrade were made gouernours of the kingdome, for thus writeth Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 198. Sene et ut tandem radio illius (which was Ethine who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ, seven hundred thirtie and three) vires ita debilitata sunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor sui regni regulos (in quibus praestans quaedam sed ficta virtutis species eluxit) delegit, quibus singulis singulas prouincias decreuit: Donald Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Galloudiam; & Conano Morauiam.

**W**illiam Fraiser bishop of S. Andrews, &c. after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred foure score and three, who died without issue, the nobilitie (because it was not known to whome the kingdome did appertene, sith there were manie which claimed the same, as Balliol, Bruce, Hastings, and others) agreed amongst themselves, and chose six regents or gouernours of the same, vntill a king were fullie known and established: the names of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, John Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir John Cumine, and James high steward of Scotland, who had the disposition of the south parts.

**H**ugh Cressingham an Englishman was made gouernour of Scotland by Edward the first, who going into France about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had brought Scotland vnder his subiection, appointed the said Hugh (whom he had before made treasurer of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme in his absence, whilst he was buied in the wars of France. But not long after, this Cressingham was slain at Sterling by William Wallace (and such Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set themselves at libertie from the subiection of the English) in the Ides of September, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seven, at what time also Andrew Purrie was slain, whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) administer and gouerne Scotland for the 50 king.

**W**illiam Wallace after manie worthy exploits done in the behalfe of his countie against the English, was for the Scots chosen gouernour of the realme vnder John Balliol, when the king had forsaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched) did slea Cressingham the gouernour of Scotland vnder the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouernour, and was in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the first king of England, and absolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, halwen, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and five.

**J**ohn Cumine, after that William Wallace had given ouer his office of gouernour, was chosen to be gouernour for the Scots, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their libertie, which being known to Edward the first king of England, he sent an armie into the countie, and destroyed it. Whereupon John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiser fellow with him in the administration of the wars against

Donald, Colollan, Morbach, &amp; Morrade.

William Fraiser.

Hugh Cressingham.

Buchan. lib. 9.

William Wallace.

John Cumine.

the English, and discomfited the English in the pere of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and two. After which, king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Ddomare de Valence his deputie in Scotland.

Ddomare de  
Valence or  
Aimer de  
Valence.

Ddomare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, uncle to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe blood, was about the peare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and four, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the peare one thousand three hundred & two, took William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruce being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six, at Heseu discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Ddomare de Valence, who after banished all those which anie waie took part with king Robert Bruce. But in the end Robert Bruce recouering himselfe & moze aid, dyane all the Englishmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas  
Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Murreie, much about the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 peare of Robert Bruce, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruce being fallen into extreme sickness, whereby he could not wield the scepter to gouerne as the state of that countrie required, committed the administration of the realme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Dowglas knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countries good about foure peares, during the life of the said Robert Bruce, whose death happened in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred and twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his sonne came to the crowne, being but seven yeres old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minoritye and insufficiencye of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betwene England and Scotland. Shortly after which the gouernor died of poison at Spenceborough, in the pere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the second peare of king Dauid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two sons, John erle of Murreie, and Thomas, both being persons worthy of such a father.

Patrike  
Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this sort. After the death of earle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemble of parliament of the three estates of the realme, in which in the said peare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and the second pere of the reigne of king Dauid, these two, Patrike earle of March and Dauid (whom Lesle calleth Donald) earle of Murreie were chosen gouernors of the realme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the pere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two was slaine sleeping in his bed at Duplin nere to the water of Erne, by such as followed and took part with Edward Balliol attaining the crowne, and expelling Dauid from the kingdome.

Andrew  
Murreie.

Andrew Murreie, a man of great power, and of no lesse possession, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Murreie, and ioined

in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortly after which this Andrew was taken prisoner at Rockborough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After which he died of a vehement sickness, and was buried in Rose Parkie, in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Dowglas, after the decease of Andrew Murreie, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murreie, whilst king Edward did besiege Berwik, who raising a power of men entred England, and caused the king to remoue his siege of Berwik. Afterward this Dowglas was slaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two (as some haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the peare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, the nineteenth of Iulie.

Archibald  
Dowglas.

Dauid Cumine was made protector in this sort. When that Edward the third king of England, in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by sea; he afterwards hauing Edward Balliol the king of Scotland in his compaignie with 50000 men came by land to Glasgow: but perceiving no resistance against him, retired with Balliol into England, and left Dauid Cumine earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to win such holds and strengths as were yet defended against him. Which Dauid took on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Balliol king of Scots, seizing into his hands all the lands which pertained to Robert Stewart, so that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became stronger.

Dauid Cumine.

Robert Stewart regent of Scotland possessed that place, at this time also when Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol; for this writeth Lesleus li. 7. pa. 234. Verum ne patria gubernatoris imperio destituta, aduersariorum insidijs pateret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam in se transtulit, quoad Dauid ex Gallia rediret, ipse tunc regni gubernacula suscepturus. By which words appeareth, that as Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol gone into England, so this Robert Stewart took vpon him the regentship for king Dauid Bruce fled into France: the which he the rather did, because he would incounter Dauid Cumine which had spoiled him of all his linings and patrimonie. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted sundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongst other things, to be free from paying of tribute of coine and graine. For this Stewart together with John Randolph earle of Murreie, were by a counsell assembled at Edenborough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and four, or one thousand three hundred thirtie and five.

Robert Stewart.

John Randolph  
earle of  
Murreie procurator.

Robert Stewart earle of Fife, second sonne to Robert Stewart the first king of Scotland (by the name of Stewart) and the second by the name of Robert, was (because his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the consent of the realme during the life of his father, about the peare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred foure score and nine, being about the nineteenth peare of the reigne of the said Robert the second: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred

Robert Stewart.



died & ninetie. After whose death, when Robert the third, being before called John, came to the kingdom, and had by a fall from his horse so hurt himselfe, that he was not able to follow the government of the kingdom, this Robert earle of Fife his brother was made gouernor of the kingdom. After which about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight, being about the ninth yeare of Robert the third king of Scotland, the king created this Robert Stewart duke of Albanie, being one of the first dukes which were made in Scotland. Besides which also, after the death of the same Robert the third, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and six, this Robert duke of Albanie was by new election, or rather confirmation established in the office of gouernor (as haue some Scottish chronicles) which duke of Albanie died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninetie, the third of September, when he had bene gouernor sixteen peares after the death of Robert the third. Wherein it seemeth to me for this time that there is much difference of peares, if the Scots haue truelie set the same downe: for those accounts can not stand together, with the death of king Robert the third, and the peares gouernment of the duke of Albanie, after the death of the king. But I passe it over, and rather impute the fault to the offendor, in mistaking the figure of the number of peares, than any want of consideration in the writer of the historie.

Godacke  
Steward.

Godacke Stewart erie of Fife & Gentiſh, the eldest sonne of Robert duke of Albanie, was after his fathers death made gouernor of Scotland, continuing in that office by the space of foure peares, untill about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and foure, in which yeare he found meanes to bring home James the right king of Scots, who had bene eightene peares deteined in England, and placed him in the kingdom of Scotland, by the name of James the first: at what time the crowne was set vpon the kings head with the hands of the said Godacke the gouernor, & Henrie bishop of saint Andrewes. This duke was in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and six, and in the second yeare of the reigne of James the first committed of high treason, and beheaded before the castell of Sterling. He had issue two sons, Walter Stewart, and Alexander, which were also beheaded at the same place the daie before the death of their father.

Alexander  
Leuingstone.

Alexander Leuingstone knight was made gouernor the daie after that James the second was crowned, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand four hundred thirtie & six: for the king being but six peares old, the nobilitie did appoint the said Alexander Leuingstone of Calender knight to be gouernor of the realme: at what time the kings person was committed to the education and rule of William Creighton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. After this in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, about the eight yere of James the second, they both (though dissention which had long continued betwene them about their authorities) were put from their offices, remoued from the king all their friends, banished the court, and they themselves commanded to apere before the king: which because they refused so to do, they were both proclaimed rebels and put to the horne.

Marie.

Marie the daughter of the duke of Guelderland & widow to James the second, was appointed with others to be gouernors: for after the death of James the second, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thou-

sand four hundred and thrie score (when James the third his sonne was but seauen peares old) the nobilitie assembled at Edenborough to prouide for the administration of the realme, because the king was so young. Whereupon there were seuen regents appointed for the government both of the kings person, and also of the kingdom, which were Marie the quene his mother, James Bennedie bishop of saint Andrewes, being sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glasgow, the earles of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, and Arkenie. These so long as Bennedie liued, agreed well together about the government of the realme; but shortly after his decease, or rather before, they fell at square, which we will more largely touch hereafter when we haue a little spoken of the death of this bishop, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred thrie score and six, and in the first yeare of the reigne of king James the third, who being buried in the college of saint Santos which he founded most sumptuously in the towne of saint Andrewes, did in his life time besides his bishopricke hold in his possession the commendie of the abbete of Petstowen, which was worth vnto him 800 crownes by yeare: the grauitie and wisdom of which bishop occasioned Lescles in his commendation to set downe these few words.

Hic (which was this bishop of saint Andrewes) prudentia consilioque ita valuit, vt quicquid latebat in republica insidiarum, apperiret, vnde merito potest dici, non armis regem, sed ingenio episcopum Douglassij superbiam fregisse, ac furorem retudisse. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificio insigniter polita, & sumptu magnifice instructa, omnibus admirationem sui faciebant) collegium sancti Saluatoris, in quo iuuentus ad eruditionem ac religionem informari possit; sepulchrum quod mortuus tegebatur, ac nauim onerariam ingentis magnitudinis. Horum vnumquodque eiusdem fuisse pretij vulgi sermone celebratum est. After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life, in the second yeare of the reigne of king James the third, being in the yeare that the world became sixty one thousand four hundred thrie score and two, there was discord kindled betwene quene Marie the Dowager, and the archbishop Bennedie, who perceiving that the woman did wholly seke to vsurpe the gouernment vnto herselfe, withstood it in that behalfe, inasmuch that it was doubted that the matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill warre, if that the bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen, with certaine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt both the parties for attonement, who wrought so effectuallie therein, that the matter was quieted in this maner. The quene mother was appointed to haue the charge and custodie of the kings person, and of his brethren Alexander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Marre, and also of their two sisters. But as for the administration and gouernment of the realme of Scotland, she should leaue it to the pères, wherefore by common consent there were elected as gouernors the bishops of Glasgow, and Dunkeld, the earle of Arkenie, the lord Graham, Thomas Bole, and the chancellor.

Margaret the daughter to Henrie the seventh Margareth king of England was (after the death of her husband James the fourth, and in the minority of her sonne James the fifth, being but a yeare and six moneths old when he was inuested with the kingdom) made regent of the realme, which she should gouerne by the counsell of James Betune archbishop of Glasgow, the earles of Huntley, Angus, and Arrane,

D. q. y.

Arrane, but shortly after they falling out amongst themselves for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

John duke of  
Albanie.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and governor of the realme, as he which next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne) was by universall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, having the same confirmed unto him by a parlement holden at Edinburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene, and the first yeare of the yong king James the first. Whereof intelligence being brought unto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fouretene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred and fiftene, and in the third of James the first, on the seventeenth of Maie, he arrived at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of governor, who was honorable interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edinburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Edinburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serveth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed governor, the scepter and sword being delivered unto him, and an oath by him to the lords, and by the lords to him given, that ech of them should be faithfull to ech other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, as saith Lelless, committeth the gouvernement of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, and to the earles of Huntlye, Argyle, Angus, and Arrane. And least aie euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edinburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschwine, Bothwike, and Ruthuene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke having thus bene about some three yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentie, remaining still governor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, and about the twelue yeare of the reigne of king James the first, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the  
quene.

Margaret the quene, the mother of James the first, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, the six and twentieth of Julie) find meanes that the yong king came from Sterling unto Edinburgh: three daies after which the quene took the whole government vpon hir, and entred into the castle of Edinburgh with the king, making the lord Marwell prouost of Edinburgh. Then the quene appointing a parlement to be held the Februarie following, there were in the same parlement eight lords chosen to be of the kings private counsell, to take on them the government of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Lencur, to whom the quene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus in the

end fullie getting the whole gouernement into his hands.

Archibald Dowglas (after that the bishop of Dunblane was dead, and the quene gone into Sterling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and five, being about the thirtieth of James the first) took the whole gouernement vpon him both of the king and kingdome, setting by, removing, and pulling downe that officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and gouernment, made his vncle Archibald Dowglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas and the earle of Lencur who assisted him. After which there was a diuorce had betwene the quene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, and the firste yeare of the same James the first, was atteinted by parlement holden at Edinburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute gouernment into his hands in the seuenteenth yeare of his age, and the said firste yeare of his said gouernment. Wherevpon the yeare following, this Archibald came unto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason wherof he fled into England.

Archibald  
Dowglas.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of James the first) being but seuen daies old obtained the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclaimed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that David Beton, fauor of the French causes had without all reason usurped the gouernment, under the pretense of a devised will and testament of James the first, in which testament he was appointed governor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quenes consent a governor to the person of the yong quene, which was the lord Leningstone capitaine of Aithy quo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the second yere of quene Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michael. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and thre, being about the twelue yeare of quene Marie, this earle was forced to leaue his office of governor, and the quene took the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same under hir: wherevpon the governor in the yeare following, being one thousand five hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chatelerault. The procurators which were appointed for and by quene Marie, were (as hath Lelless) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinal of Lozeine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writteth the same Lelless in these words: Hos (which was hir curators) sibi Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the quene of Scots) matris suauis, Henricum regem Francie, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisum eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem regine matri procurandam transulerunt: &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after him, and one David Hamilton.

James earle  
of Arrane.

Lelless lib. 19.  
pag. 517.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as widow to James the first, and mother to the yong quene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelue yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quene Marie, made regent of Scotland under hir daughter the same yong quene, which office

Marie dowager  
of Scotland.

office this regent toke vpon his hauing the same confirmed by parliament, continuing in that place about six yeares, & died in the castle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thre score, being vpon the point of the eighteenth yeare of quene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: *Fuit autem corpus in Galliam postea tranſuectum, primum ad monasteriũ Feckamenſe, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cenobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui foror ipsius pie tunc præerat, delatũ, honorificè condebatũ.*

James Stewart barbard sonne to king James the first king of Scots, and base brother to Marie quene of Scots now living and imprisoned, being ppor of saint Andrews and earle of Mar, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, being about the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, made earle of Marreie. About five yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conspired against quene Marie, toke hir, committed hir to prison, deposed hir, and vpon the same (on the nineteenth daie of Julie in the yeare a thousand five hundred thre score and seven, being the five & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of that quene) advanced his sonne Charles James Stewart, being then about a yeare old, to the kingdome, by the name of James the first: this James earle of Marreie, was made regent and gouernor of the young king James the first, and of the kingdome: who vpon the office receiued, did by parliament abolish the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent untill his death, falling about the time of thre yeares after. For in the time of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was shot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Marreie, married Agnes Beith daughter to the earle of Marhall.

Matthew earle of Lenear, being sent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Marreie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a conuention of the lords of Sterling. After which in August following, there was another conuention at Edenburgh, where by the consent of the thre estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland, at what time the earle of Huntley toke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quene of Scots remaining then vnder custodie in England, which Huntley in his name summoned a parliament at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, wherevnto the earle of Lenear was summoned: to encounter which, the earle of Lenear caused a parliament likewise to be summoned in the kings name at the same place, whervnto the earle of Huntley was warned at the same daie. But the earle of Huntley coming no sooner at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Lenear and the nobilitie, to pursue him: wherevpon ensued great warres betwene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, some taking part with the deposed quene Marie, and other with the young king in possession. During which tumults and wars, this earle of Lenear hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a pisseoll by capteine Camder, whereof he shortly after died, in the yeare of Christ

one thousand five hundred thre score and eleven, being about the fourth yeare of James the first.

John Areskin earle of Mar was made regent after the death of the earle Lenear, as maie appeare by that which I haue before set downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome succeeded the earle Morton, of whome I haue a little before spoken, and of whome we will more intreat hereafter, when we come to speake of his beheading, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and one, falling about the fourteenth yeare of Lewis the first, after that the said earle had continued that office about five yeares. For being advanced to that place, about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and twelue, he continued in the same, untill he surrendered it, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, as is before touched. Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters which haue succeeded.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, we saie that much about the time in the which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentship, that the lord Clames, who was then in office of the chancelorship, was treacherously slaine by his enemies at Sterling, with a shot of purpose discharged against him, as he was coming out of Sterling castell, & going to his owne lodging from the councill or parliament. Whereby it seemeth that this murdering by sudden shot began now to be a common thing: for there were thre great persons in short time dispatched after that sort, which were the earles of Marreie and Lenear regents, & this lord Clames chancelor. After the death of which lord Clames, the earle of Atholl was advanced to that place, and invested with the title of lord chancelor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancelor to treat of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, which I will do in few words.

This officer the chancelor had his first originall in Scotland by Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and governing thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie necessarie lawes for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancelor, constable, marshall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in his historie of Scotland in these words: *Felicitè rempublicam haud paucos annos administravit (king Malcolme) multis & egregijs operibus illustris: interque cetera municipalium legum volumen condidit, quas nostrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis seruauerunt, nihil pene immutatas, regionum magistratum iudicumque, quos licet mundiũ, magisque Latine vocare possunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, constabilem, mariscallum, camerarium, iusticiariumque vocitant, & qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo essent: cunctorumque ministrorum aule annua salaria, vt nostris diebus penduntur, quantumque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac ceteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribusque soluendum foret, instituit.* This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the confessor, seemeth also to me co-

ueritie to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and customs from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it maie be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen & Romans as other nations had : which as I do not suppose, because the Romans had but little doings amongst them, for as they neuer vsed anie such officer in this land whilst they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it maie be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies bene in league euer since the time of their king Archibald the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing this, we saie (more particularlie treating of Scotland) that much about this time, John Lesle bishop of Rosse (who had some yeares before bene some certeine time imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had travelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned quene of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for hir, as the princes which favored hir faction would yield) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Kandulph, as the second of that name now emperor. Which said Lesle, taking his tourne out of Italie, passed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was staid at Wlatzburgh, othertwise called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Baier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Weldezen; in which citie, his coffers and other things were rifled and searched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongst others certeine papers, in which did appeare what friends the quene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enemies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gaue the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enemy to his religion) this bishop of Rosse was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safeconduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Baier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablie dismiss the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, & conueying him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horsemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Rosse to leaue a testimoniall all writing in the Latine tongue vnder his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was done to the said bishop, in that his detaining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not anie waie seeke anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the same) I haue faithfully and *verbatim* set downe in this sort.

The testimoniall left by the bishop  
of Rosse with the duke of  
Baier.



Os Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Morauia, &c: testatur hoc scripto palam & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cum in hisce periculosis & mo-

tuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandum pacem publicam, aut noxias dissensionibus sub quouis prætextu tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinant aut patiantur; præcipue cum nunc exempla in vicinis locis extant, quam facile aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, vt illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauaria, comesque Veldentzia, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelfteinenensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exqueretur, significauit. Quod factam retentionem, celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc apulit: præsertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliqua copia instructionis & memorialium eius celsitudini missa fuerat, vnde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cum mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirum, vt extirpata hæres, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuratore Scoticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præsertim cum plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus a papa salutauerimus, & inuiserimus. Ad quam suspensionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conatus sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ virgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tam in religione, quam politicis perturbare, & suspensionem principibus Augustanæ confessionis mouere, non minus quam ipsius celsitudini possent, nihilominus celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quam præcedentibus suspensionibus imminentium periculorum non diutius nos detenturos concludit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriam in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut structione dissensionum, aliquid nunquam tenturos, sicut & alibi: sed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere possimus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundò, quod pollicemur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, neque per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quæ nominari possit, illam detentionem vindicatum fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & mortuum, quæ passim (potissimum verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metendum & vigilandum, maxime verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideò ab illustrissima eius celsitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arcetissima inter ordines cõiunctionis, hanc circumspectionem & detentionem nostram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accipimus: cum præsertim eius celsitudo non modò liberaliter nos habuerit, sed absque omni rerum nostrarum iactura, alijsque dispendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiosè splendido equitum comitatu in maiorem securitatem deduci iusserit. Idcirco sanctè pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse, sanctum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos &

& ditiones hanc retentionem persequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corroboracionem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzellteni 28 Decemb. is: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis  
& administrator ecclesie Morauensis.

This Lesle being yet living, and (as I vnder- stand) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancelor of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both intioed honorable titles in descent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was bered with vnjust war, first by Harold king of England the son of Godwine, then by the Norman barbar surnamed the Conqueror, which surnamed Harold obtained the crowne of England; Edgar did priuily take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obtaine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whence they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grievously molested with vehement winds, which forcible made them forsake their appointed course, and draue them into the mouth of the riuer of Forth or Frith, whose landing place is yet to be seene, & at this date called S. Margarets haven (after the name of hir which was sister to this Edgar & called Margaret) whose Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherwith she was wonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & solemnly crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Upon which died William the Conqueror being more grieuouslie moued than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Lindsey, Klaus, Ramseie, Louch, and diuerse other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme; their posteritie do at this date in our age flourish with great honor. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerse other persons of account, as Crighton, Forthingham, Giffert, Panlis, Wothike, and others; amongst whom Bartholomew Lesle descended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the rest appeare verie famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (joined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vsed his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edinburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Lesles haue sprung and flourished manie worthy persons, valiantlie resisting and subduing their enemies. And amongst those, one Walter Lesle earle of Rosse, who afterwards purchased such singular commendation for valor and wisdom shewed in manie battels of the emperor: Lesles the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens, & (one of their owne name now a bishop of Rosse in his historie of Scotland saith) a quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frangere, & subiugum fortiter mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum sit consecutus: eiusdem stirpis comes Rothefius, multi que alij barones & equites Leslei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primum,

ac alij deinde reges multis amplisque agris, in Fisa, Augusta, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijsque prouincijs munificē cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vigent. Of whose line and name at this date (as is before said) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rosse now living called Lesle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Colvrie or Colvrike, the same earle of Rosse being a person no lesse wise and honorable, than descended of ancient and honorable ancestors. But leauing that familie, let vs returne from whence we haue digressed.

The bishop of Rosse being departed from the duke of Banier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and nineteene, Amies Steward the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to John the eldest brother of Mathew Leneur, some time regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king most honorable receiued, and aduanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Steward (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earldome of Leneur, he now inuested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And least he should loose by taking the earldome from Robert Steward to haue bestowed him, the king for recompense thereof, bestowed vpon the said Robert Steward as honorable a title and earldome as the same was, for he inuested the same Robert with the earldome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earldome of Leneur vnto a dukedome, he did bestow that honor of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneur, which title at this date, his sonne being a towardly young gentleman doth most honorable possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which doth in this our age intioe that title of duke, being such an honor as was but latelie begun amongst them, and neuer verie plentifull in that region: for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose noished at any one time (when that title was risest amongst them) these persons adorned with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnfit to saie somewhat in this place.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vsed by Robert the third of that name, whose right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill successe to grow to the kingdome by a gouernor so called. For thus write the Scots as Lesleus hath deliuered with these speeches: Verum quum ipsi nobiles arbitrarētur nomini inesse nescio quid omnis infausti, quod reges Franciæ & Angliæ, hoc nomine consignati, bello prehenderēt, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerūt. Quæ illorum siue in nominis obseruatione superstitio, siue in regis conseruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multo post ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita confusa fuerunt, vt (quod regnandi molestias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fisenfi fratri suo regni gubernationē dedere cogeretur. Which John as before is said, hauing now obtained a new name, was the first which brought a new title of honor into his kingdome: for he created David his eldest sonne duke of Rothseie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Albany, as is set downe by the same Lesleus in these words;

The lord of Obignie made earle of Leneur.

Robert Steward made earle of March.

The first erection of dukes in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 264.

To which king John of England and France, he might also haue added one of his own countie of Scotland John Balliol the king, who was as intimated in his gouernment as any of the other.



## The historie of Scotland.

words; Tercio plus minus anno (which was about the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirtene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habito, post alias res pro regni comodo sapienter actas, rex Dauidem filium suum titulo ducis Rothsaia, & Robertum fratrem suum quem regno administrando prefeceat, ducis Albanij honore ornabat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illustrati. Thus much he, proving that it is not above one hundred foure score and thirtene peares since that title came first into Scotland. Wherby it appereth that England since the conquest having dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie & seven, made his eldest sonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred fortie & nine yeres past, being fiftie and six yere before they had a nie in Scotland. And as those two before named were the first which were inuessed with the honor of duke in Scotland, so after the death of the same king which fell in the peare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, in the Interregnum or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eightene peares from the said yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, untill the peare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which James the first having bene trained by in England obtained the crowne, and under the protection of Howard (the sonne of the foresaid Robert the first duke of Albanie) to whom the government of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the said Robert the third.

Archibald Dowlgalle was the first Scot which passing the seas, & serving a strange prince, inioined anie such title of duke in anie forein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French against the English, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithfull unto him, created John Stewart earle of Buquaine constable of France, & advanced the said Archibald Dowlgalle to the honor of the dukedome of Turone: but he did not long inioie that great title, being shortly after slaine at the battell of Verneille, in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treating of which battell Buchanan, whose name may rightlie be deduced from Bucca vana, beyond all modestie and course of reason forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath spued out all his malice against the English nation, wherof I have treated in my former additions to the historie of Scotland. Thus having somewhat digressed from the matter of later peares, wherewith I ought to have furnished my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Obegnie, who was at this time created duke of Lennox, and who occasioned me to make this discourse. Wherefore I will here set downe what Lesleus hath written of the first originall of that house in France, and of this duke of Lennox thus by the king netolie as before said created, the words of which Lesleus bishop of Ross be these: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the warres against the king of England, when the Scots were thus advanced in the dominions of France, being meane betwene the said peares of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) paulo ante conscripsit, quæ vulgò Scotorum armorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multisque alijs terris, maneribus, honoribus, & baleagij communis populi sermone dictis, a rege insignitus est. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiusdem cognominis & prosapie continuata, successio-

nis serie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militiæ ducem, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu possessa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohannis filius non paruam suorum virtutis speciem de se excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtrinet. Thus much Lesle. Beside which that Lesleus hath set downe of the first lord of Obegnie in France, Paulus Iouius in his booke of Emperresse written in Italian, hath not forgotten to speake somewhat of him, where he setteth downe the devise of his enignes or armes in this sort translated by me into English.

There was (saith Iouius) amongst the Frenchmen a man of kinetone vertue or provelse, & most famous capteine called Heberard Stewart, borne of the blond rosall of Scotland (being honored with the title of monsieur de Obegnie, who being of kindred to James the fourth of that name, did beate for his deuise or enigne, a field silver, a ramping lion getoles, with a number of buckles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare upon his upper garment, and likewise beare in his standard, with this posse, Distancia iungit: signifieng thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit together the king of Scots and the French king, with a iust counterpoise against the force of the king of England, naturall enemie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much I of the duke of Lennox lord of Obegnie in France. After which, sith I am now in discoursing of dukes of that countrie, and haue shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowledge by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the peare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eightene; which I will not refuse to do in this place, following the same course which I haue obserued before in the historie of England, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

A catalog of all the dukes of  
Scotland by creation or  
descent.

**D**avid Stewart (eldest son of John Stewart earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leaving the name of John when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and eightene, being the eight peare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothsaie, when he was about eightene peares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was borne the two and twentieth daie of October one thousand three hundred three score and eightene, made duke in the peare one thousand three hundred fourescore & eightene, as some haue. But Lesleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstances doe gather, to the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescore & thirtene. He married Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowlglas, about the peare of Christ one thousand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Stewart second son to Robert the second king of Scots, by Elisabeth Spure or Spore his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Penteth, was in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescore and eightene, and the eight peare of the gouernement of Robert the second, ad-

manied

nanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Albanie: this Robert and the other David as I have before noted, being the first dukes that ever were in Scotland. This man being governor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend David the duke of Rothesie, and committed him to streit prisonment in Faukeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers: of this Robert is more spoken in my predecesors of Scotland.

Spurdache  
duke of Albanie.

Alexander  
duke of Albanie.

Spurdache called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert Duke of Albanie, was as is most likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being governor of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of James the second, was by his father advanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie young at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred & threescore, was with his brother John earle of Spar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred threescore and thre, being the third yeare of James the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after restored home by the meanes of James Bernedie bishop of Saint Andrews. About firtene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred threescore and ninetene, falling in the firtenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edenburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whence being well furnished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie received, and there married the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortly after dieng, and the duke perceiving himselfe not to be so well used as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth lovinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Whereupon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, committing (without any resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentieth yeare of James the third) as far as Kaskrag, or Kaskraig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Spar, and proclaimed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he governed the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke setteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the queene, without knowlege thereof given to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new tumults did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourescore and two, and the thre and twentieth yeare of James the third, this duke having intelligence that there was poison prepared to be given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at that time also the king for his owne safetie, got him unto the castell of Edenburgh: whereupon the earle of Angus and Baccuaine forsaking the king, took part with the duke.

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesleus saith

that he took a little bote and so escaped into France, where he was honorablie intertained by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chivalrie; thus writeth Lesleus. But others (believing this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did invade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: *Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite iniuit altans, particula cuiusdam haste traiecitur, breuique post mortur, about the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred eightie thre. He left two sonnes behind him, John duke of Albanie governor of Scotland during the minority of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orknie, which Alexander was after bishop of Spurreie, and abbat of Scoke.*

John Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obtaine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred eightie thre: of this man I have made a more large discourse in the governours of Scotland, whereunto I refer thee; and therefore omit to talke any further of him in this place.

John duke of  
Albanie.

James Steward (eldest sonne to James the third) being duke of Rothesie, is by some termed prince of Rothesie, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred seuentie and two on the tenth date of March, being about the twelfth yeare of the reigne of his father James the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentieth yeare of his father, and the firtenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capitaine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banockburne two miles from Sterling, incountring with the king his father, did there slea him; whereupon this James duke of Rothesie was presentlie made king by the name of James the fourth.

James Steward  
duke of Rothesie.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rothesie: for thus writeth Lesleus li. 8. pag. 331. *In studium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred eightie and nine) sedulo, vt Alexander dux Rotholcia & Iohannes comes Mariz sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissime imbuerentur, tantoque sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnifice alerentur. He died the firtenth kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and firtene at Sterling.*

Alexander  
duke of Rothesie.

Henric Steward lord Dorneleie the eldest sonne to Mattheu Steward erle of Leneur, was brought up in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie the queene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Ross, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and five by the same queene, about the thre and twentieth yeare of his reigne: shortly after which he was in the Julie following created duke of Albanie; and on saturday the eight and twentieth day of the same moneth before the marriage, proclaimed king by the queenes commandment, at the market crosse of Edenborough, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, in the chapel at Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning: which hono he did not long imite.

Henric duke  
of Albanie.

inloie. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and six (what by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false perswasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne overthrow, and that by such as moued him thereunto) he was miserable slain in a house within the towne, nere to Birke a field.

Amies Ste-  
ward duke of  
Lencur.

Edowike  
Steward  
duke of Les-  
mour.

Amies Steward lord of Obigneis in France, sonne to John Steward brother to Mattheu Steward earle of Lencur, being first by James the first of that name made earle of Lencur, was after by the same king made duke of Lencur; who being dead, hath left a young sonne behind him, a gentle man of great hope, at this date liuing, inloeing the title of his father, and called duke of Lencur. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue bene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inloied that title in a foren nation.

That diuers of the Scots haue obtai-  
ned the title and honor of dukes in  
forren countries.



It is honorable to anie man to be ad-  
uanced unto anie title of honour in his  
owne countrie, either for desert or fauor;  
whereof yet partialitie maie most com-  
monlie be the furtherer: so is it far more honorable  
and remoued from all suspicion of undeserued fa-  
uor, to be inuested with anie title of dignitie for anie  
cause in a foren countrie; because princes (whose  
hands are mostlie opened to enrich their subjects, in  
whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principallie in-  
closed) do not commonlie without singular desert ad-  
uance strangers to them by birth in an other nation,  
& not their native subjects, for that they are people,  
to whom without an especiall trial anie prince is  
not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and  
much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the  
same being an argument of worthe desert, either  
for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for  
the valour of seruice of the aduanced, when anie one  
is aduanced with anie such title of honor, I thinke it  
not unfit in this place to obseure the glorie of the  
Scots (who might impute the same to be malicious-  
lie done by me) and to omit such of their nation as  
haue inloied the title of dukes in a foren countrie,  
especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of  
Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small,  
as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in  
some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer  
in silence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I  
would not anie waie pretermitt what they iustlie de-  
serue, I will faithfully set downe what I find reco-  
ded touching the same after this manner.

Archibald  
Dowglas  
duke of Cour-  
aine.

Archibald Dowglas was created duke of  
Couraine in France in this sort. In the yeare of  
Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and three  
as some saie, or one thousand foure hundred and six  
as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie  
thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of  
numbers which haue happened through the con-  
trarietie of booke) Charles the seuenth of that  
name king of France, sending ambassadoers into  
Scotland, to renew the old league betwene the two  
nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid  
against the English, there were ambassadoers and o-  
ther noble men sent likewise into France out of  
Scotland; with whose comming the French king be-  
ing greatly comforted, and hoping of good successe  
against the English by reason of the Scottish aid, he  
did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court

creat this Archibald Dowglas (then erle of Wigh-  
ton) duke of Couraine. But that honor continued  
not long with him, for in the yeare of Christ one  
thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, at the  
battell of Verneile in Berth the English obtained  
the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and  
heire James Dowglas earle of Wigh-ton was a-  
mongst others most vnfortunatlie slaine.

Archibald earle Dowglas was duke of Cour-  
aine, as I gather by the words of Lesleus touching  
this Archibalds sonne, of whom we will speake here-  
after, and then set downe the same words of Lesleus  
to proue Archibald duke of Couraine, who married  
the earle of Crawford's daughter, by whom he had  
issue William earle Dowglas, a child of fouretene  
yeares old which succeeded him, & one David Dow-  
glas. After which this Archibald died at Lestelrig  
in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred  
thirtie and nine, being about the thirde yeare of king  
James the first.

Archibald  
Dowglas  
duke of Cour-  
aine.

William earle Dowglas a child of fouretene  
yeares of age succeeded his father in his inheritan-  
ces, and was after made duke of Couraine or Cour-  
aine, who being now earle Dowglas, deliuered  
forth such buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all  
men of his worthinesse and good successe, to his fur-  
ther honor and his countries benefit. But in the end  
their expectations were deceiued after that he was  
made duke of Couraine: for being putt up in pride  
with those great honors, he forgot himselfe, and  
wrought his owne and his countries harme, where-  
of we will not now speake; but onlie set downe  
Lesleus words touching his admittance to the duke-  
dome of Couraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle  
Dowglas) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum  
Cummirnald & Alanu Lowder ad Carolum septi-  
mu Francorum regem misit, orati, vt ducatu Toro-  
nensi eius patrimoniu & dignitates amplificarentur:  
equum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archi-  
baldus Dowglasius (qui pro libertate Francie bello  
Vernolensi mortem oppetiuit) fruebatur & pater  
illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, idem ad se quoque  
perueniret. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono  
quantum illi ad honorem dignitatemque cumuli,  
tantum profecto ad superbiam, insolentiamque ma-  
teriz accessit. Thus much Lesle, placing the same  
to be done as other authoers also do, in the yeare of  
Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine,  
being about the thirde yeare of the reigne of James  
the first of that name king of Scotland. Which honor  
he did not long inioie, for in the yeare following be-  
ing the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred  
and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king  
James, he was, for that he would neither obeie the  
gouernment of the gouernor or chancelor, bidden to  
a banquet at Edinburgh castle, whereas when he and  
his brother David were set at dinner, the meat was  
suddenlie remoued, and a bulls head presented to the  
erle of Dowglas, being in those daies a token that  
he should shortly be executed. Immediatlie where-  
vpon, the said earle with his brother David, & Mal-  
colme Fleming lord of Cummirnald were behea-  
ded before the castle gate: so that this great ho-  
nor seemed to those Scots which possessed the same,  
not much unlike to the Scian hope, or to the honor  
of the dukedome of Gloucester.

Lesleus lib. 8.  
pag. 292.

This ymmech  
Archibald  
Dowglas  
father to this  
will am to be  
duke of Cour-  
aine.

James earle of Arrane being made gouernor to  
Marie queene of Scots, in the yeare of Christ one  
thousand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being  
about seuen daies old, she began the first yeare of hir  
vnfortunat gouernment, which I maie so rightlie  
terme, because she was after deposed in the yeare of  
Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and se-  
uen, in the five and twentieth yeare of hir reigne) was  
made

made duke of Chateleault by the French king in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelue yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherefore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practise by forein persons of great state in Europe, to make some inuasion, or at the least some disturbance vpon or amongst such realmes as professed the gospel, and were enimies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embracing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerse part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselves against the popes doctrine, but had also drawne their necks from the yoke of his subiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tied nereilie in blood to the imprisoned quene, and to the pong king of Scots, and supported with other princes pursues, purposed to haue set sail for Scotland, and to haue obtained the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdome. But God, in whose hands resteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting such determinations to sort to the purposed effect, did for that time frustrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise should with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and possessed Scotland, there arose troubles and turmolles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphiné, which called him from the dispatch of that his former deuise, for the straieng to appease the same new insurrection, employing all his gathered forces thereunto, and encountering with those persons: the rigor of the same warres so weakened his strength, that he was not able (without some new supplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the sudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, least that the same intention might not seme altogether to haue quailed, or that he should be noted to haue made shew to enterprise a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the vttermost; there was somewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not forth in all respects to answer the expected hope of good successe therein. For partly by the policie of the Scots, and partly by the support of the allies and friends to the king, but altogether by the united strength of both sorts, the Scots rid themselves of the same deuise, and since remained safe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, sometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and ready to suffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, some persons had conference with him about matters of great importance, on the same date wherein he was to suffer, which persons so conferring with him, were John Durie, and master Walter Bancanquell. In which discourse betwene the earle and them these matters in substance propounded by them, and in answers made by him in this sort almost word for word, drawne into some seuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

The examinations and answers of the  
earle of Morton before his death, but  
after his condemnation.

**F**irst he was exhorted by them that he should not be discouraged by his overthrow, in considering the estate wherunto he had bene once called in this world, but rather remembering the glorie to come, he should reioice and be of good comfort. Wherevnto he answered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he respected it not, because he was persuaded that all worldlie honoz is but vanitie, and the broken reed of Egypt. And as concerning the estate wherunto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, because he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, so had he also appointed the manner thereof, seeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in respect of that immortallitie, & the everlasting toy which he looked for, and whereof he was assured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part or knowledge in the kings death or murder: he answered with this attestation, that as he should answer to his Lord God, so he would declare all his knowledge therein: the sum whereof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for Dantons slaughter, he came out of Whethersham, where the erle Bothwell was at the same time, with whom there was communication about the kings murder, but he would not consent thereto. After which, opening a large discourse thereof, laing the cause, the contriuing, and the execution of the same in great persons now liuing, and confessing that they understood thereof, and durst not for manie causes reueale the same, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Lennox; he added, how that in the end he was by the law notwithstanding of late conuicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murder, when as he should answer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermore, shewing that after the earle of Bothwell was cleared of that murder by assise, that he and sundrie of the nobilitie subscribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie should laie the kings murder to his charge, he would assist him to the contrarie, and that therefore he subscribed to the quenes marriage with the earle Bothwell as sundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged thereunto by the quenes owne writing and commandment.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that seeing this murder of the king was one of the most filthy acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the secrets thereof hath not hitherto bene opened, neither who was the chiefe doer therein, or whether the king was then strangled or blowne by into the aire; that he should declare if he knew anie further secret therein: he answered, that as he should make answer to God, he knew no more secrets in that matter than he had already declared and heard, by the depositions of such as had already suffered for it, which depositions are yet extant. Again, being demanded if he knew anie presentment about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whose companie the king and commonwealth might be hurt: he answered that he knew none, neither would he accuse anie, &c.

Thirddie, being examined of the poisoning of the earle of Athlins, if he had anie act or part therein:

*M. r. s.* he

which was  
Henrie king  
of Scots, slain  
in the yeare of  
Christ 1566,  
beginning the  
year at the  
annuntiation  
of the burgh.  
David Richis  
the Italian,  
secretarie to  
the quene,  
died in the  
yeare 1566.

he answered with god attestation, saing; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knew anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common byute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knew that maister John Douandt brought him anie poison; he replied that he knew no such thing, and that he knew nothing by maister Douandt but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; He, he, there is ouer much filthinesse in Scotland already, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earldome of Athliss, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue bene ministred, yea if there had been one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conspuracie against the earle of Lencur: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed anie conspuracie against the earle of Lencur, neither minded to him anie hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it greued him that the earle of Lencur knew not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceived the danger of the kings person. For being thereunto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enemies, ouerthrowers of the kingdome, and enemies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the realme: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Lencur familiarity and his should haue bene greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conueieng of the king or otherwise, or if he had anie pension of the quene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God vnder paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had anie dealings with England that waite: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the quene nor anie in his name, that euer moued anie such thing to me, so indireclic as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had bene for his profit and honor, &c. And for the more clere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but direclic his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mercie for anie thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought by in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had bene as carefull to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to seeke the kings wealth, I had not bene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the quene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the quene of England in all my life. And although they caused the byute to go, that I should haue furnished the quene of Englands souldiours now last vpon the borders, I neuer knew of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixtli, being demanded what was his part of the enterprisse of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knew nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochleuen, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to keepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to keepe him in captiuitie there or in anie other place. But

he vnderstood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as free at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present. And if he had known that his grace would haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladly haue gone with him.

Seuenthlie, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue done much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & advancement of his gospell, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; insomuch that rather than anie hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indeed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and followed the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Whotobest he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation, that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had known better, he would haue done otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eighthlie, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthy of this and more: whereunto he yielded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indeed, that God hath alwaies done iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so much to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expessed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue done, for which I beseech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indeed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God should haue spared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I should then haue cast awaie all the cares of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthlie things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie: And if it shall please God to take me in this trouble, I am concluded also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the mercies of God. And for that cause I do now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue, and that I shall not see the miseries to come: for I will assure



you that I thinke this to be the most acceptable time that ever God could haue taken me in, because I perceiue and see such miseries and confusions to issue, that I thanke God that I shall not see them. And you who doe feare God, and liue after me, when you shall see these things, you will wisly to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

Pinethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vsed against him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong done vnto him or no, as he answered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themselves vpon their consciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciences; yet I am woued to speake somewhat stralle in this matter which is this. I sawe such parciall dealing against me, that it hath bene all one to me, if I had bene as innocent as saint Stephen, or that I had bene as gillie as Judas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsoeuer things had bene, which appeareth in this, that no exception of anie person which was to passe vpon my assise could be admitted: for I requiered the earle of Argyle to purge himselfe of parciall counsell giuen to the pursuer my accuser; he purged himselfe indeed, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue parciall counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Marthon, the lord of Seiton, and such others, who were knowen to be my enemies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration whereof I can not but be persuaded of one thing, which it behoueth me to communicat vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they seeke onelie, but they who are authors of my death haue some other purpose in hand, which they perceiue will not be done, except I and such other which doe fauor the good cause, were taken out of the waie. Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue bene so handled, and that such as hereafter shall be put therevnto, may haue a more plaine waie to do their turne or intent: and I praise God that they which are to liue behind me see not the practise thereof, but I feare it sore. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will giue my counsell to the king my master, and wisly you in the name of God to beare it to him, the summe whereof is this. I perceiue that they which haue bene the kings foes and enemies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue bene the maineainers of his crowne & good friends, are discredited and mistaked of. And likewise such as are knowen to be papists, and suspected to be enemies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, which surelie can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his estat. For which cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and companie of good men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath done wisly it for ever. For I tell you what moueth me to speake thus, which is, that the state of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I here saie there is a dealing put in practise betwene France and England, and Donscours marriage with the queene is like to be feared; if France and England bind together, and that marriage go forward, you may easilie vnderstand, that the one of them will persuade the other to their religion, &c.

Centhlie, being required to giue his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be done, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered: I dare giue him no coun-

sell, and I will tell you this; to bid him come in, partly I dare not, all men may see in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counsell him to abide forth I dare not, for then he shall lose the kings fauour for ever, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauour againe, and to see if he may haue anie assurance of his life, and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties goodwill: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

Cleuenthlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which John Binkes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a little before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knew nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefits which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wisdom and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefits aright, and better in time to come than you haue done in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospel, to the maintenance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects: which if you shall not do, God shall spoile you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. When being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Twelfelie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edenburgh in ward, he answered: Surelie I meant no euill to those men, but it was done in this respect: we had the matter of Wolgoine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers thereof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while untill the turne had bene done. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiveness of them as I forgive all men.

Thirteenthlie, being required to declare if he knew before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in deed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting allwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid John Durie and Walter Balcanquall did together call to God by earnest prayer, which being ended the earle said vnto vs (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartlie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in deed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praise you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne sinnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I maie be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we travelled to satysfie by long conference, which is too long to rehearse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were three things chafelie which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God contained in his word, wherevnto

it behoued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue bene great sinners; as appeared in Dauid, Agabalen, Peter, and the these, &c. Thirdlie the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, saying: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the five booke of Moses, Josue, the Judges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I haue found there. I see that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in case sathan should trauell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of god courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a iust man will not twise demand payment of that whereof he was alredie paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the vntermost farthing that God could craue, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Cruelie it is verie god.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, ioie, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to swallow vp the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I do so. This being thus done, and he hauing in his hand a pretie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Bradford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladie Dameson before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gaue it to maister Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing sundrie confessions vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said: I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherevnto being called to breakefast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cheerefulness, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betwene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find anie rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laid vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. When he said vnto the steward, William you can beare me record of this; who answered, It is true my lord. When maister Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you

vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Cruelie I will pledge you maister Walter on the same condition. After which he said, John Durie, now John I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time maister James Lawson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministrie, as maister James Lawson, maister Robert Point, Dauid Fargalone, maister David Benfa, John Brand, maister James Carmichael, and maister John Dawson, whom the earle receiued verie louingly in his arms, and said to him; Maister John you wrote a little booke in deid, but truite I meant neuer cull towards you in my mind, forgie me, and I forgie you: vpon which words maister John was moued with teares. Then all the brethren being present, the earle repoted againe the cheefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the after none, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministrie were informed that there was intill report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Wherefore they thought good to send down some before his suffering to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were Dauid Fargalone, John Durie, and John Brand, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come forth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with wordlie things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. When the keeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not fraie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable praiser being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, minning to go directly to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie vntill his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Haie my lord, I praeie you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie what I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue done nothing vpon anie particular quarrell against you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time now to remember quarrels, I haue no quarrell to you nor to anie other, I forgie you and all others as I would you forgie me. And so after with a good courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, &c. adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

Sure

Sure I am the king shall lose a good servant this  
 daie, and so he exhorted the people, saying: I testifie  
 before God, that as I professe the gospell which this  
 daie is taught & professed in Scotland: so also now  
 I willinglie laie downe my life in the persecution  
 thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according  
 thereto as I ought, yet I am assured that God  
 will be mercifull vnto me; and I charge you all in  
 God which are professors of the gospell, that you con-  
 tinue the true professing and maintaining thereof to  
 your power, as I would haue done God willing  
 with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had li-  
 ued: which if you do, I assure you God shall be  
 mercifull vnto you; but if you do it not, be sure the  
 vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie  
 and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words  
 which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in ef-  
 fect and more ample before. When all these spea-  
 ches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable  
 prayer was made by maister John Lawson, during  
 the time of which prayer, the erle Dorton laie groue-  
 ling vpon his face before the place of execution, his  
 bodie making great reboundings with sighes and  
 sobes, being euident signes of the inward and migh-  
 tic working of the spirit of God, as all they which  
 were present, and knew that it was to be earnestlie  
 moued in prayer, might easilie perceiue.

The prayer being ended, and sundrie comming  
 to him before his death, he did most louinglie receiue  
 them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that  
 were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord,  
 he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humbly  
 (without feare of death) to the place of execution,  
 and laid his necke vnder the are being vnbond.  
 And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in  
 mind to call vpon God; the erle continuallie cried  
 vntill his head was stricken off, Lord Iesus receiue  
 my spirit, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: which  
 words he spake euen while the are fell on his necke.  
 Now what former he had bene before, he constantlie  
 died the servant of God. And howsoever it be that  
 his foes alleged, that as he liued proude, so he died  
 proude; the charitable servants of God could  
 perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in  
 his death: insonmuch that we are assured, that his  
 soule is receiued into the soles and glories of the  
 heauens; and we praye God, that they which are be-  
 hind, may learne by his example to die in the true  
 feare of God our Lord. Thus far the confession &  
 death of the erle Dorton, penned by such of the  
 presbyterie as were present thereat.

In a parliament holden in Edinburgh the eight  
 & twentieth of Januarie, in this yeare one thousand  
 five hundred fourescore and one, being the fourteenth  
 of the kings reigne, were matters established, tou-  
 ching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I  
 meane not fullie to set downe the same, sith my pen  
 & purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spiri-  
 tuall causes. Therefore onelie determining but  
 slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set  
 forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stampe of  
 Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in  
 this yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure  
 score and six, we saie that the same booke, published  
 by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of  
 the true christian faith and religion, according to  
 Gods word and our acts of parliament subscribed by  
 the kings maiestie and his household, with diuerse o-  
 thers, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this  
 title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the  
 inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Iesus &  
 his holie Gospell, to their naturall countreimen and  
 to all other realmes & nations, professing the same  
 Iesus Christ with them, with grace, mercie, and

peace from God the father of our Lord Iesus  
 Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of  
 saluation.

After which title and salutation, the substance  
 of the same booke, being declared in the forhead  
 of the chapters following, containeth these heads:  
 First of God, then of the creation of man, next  
 of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of  
 the promise of the continuance, increase, and pre-  
 10 seruation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ  
 Iesus, why it becometh the mediator to be verie  
 God and man, of election, of Christs death, passi-  
 on, and buriall, of his resurrection, of his ascensi-  
 on, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of god  
 works, what works are reputed god before God,  
 of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of  
 man, of the church, of the immortallitie of soules,  
 of the notes by which the true church is discerned  
 from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doc-  
 20 trine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of ge-  
 nerall councels, of their power, authoritie & cause  
 of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right  
 administration of the sacraments, to whom sacra-  
 ments appertaine, of the ciuill magistrat, and of the  
 gifts frelie giuen to the church, &c.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that  
 booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the  
 declaration of the faith of those people, and for the  
 further instruction of others, were shortly after the  
 agreement thereto in that parliament confirmed  
 by the king, and commanded to be published and to  
 be sed through his realme, as appeareth by this his fol-  
 lowing precept concerning the same.

#### The kings maiesties charge to all commissioners and ministers within his realme.

**S**eeing that we and our household haue  
 subscribed & giuen this publike confes-  
 sion of our faith, to the good example of  
 our subjects, we command and charge  
 all commissioners and ministers to craue the same  
 confession of their parishioners, and to proceede a-  
 gainst the refusers according to our lawes, and or-  
 der of the church; deliuering their names and law-  
 full proccesse to the ministers of our house, with all  
 hast and diligence, vnder the paine of foure pounds  
 to be taken from their stipend: that we with the ad-  
 40 uise of our counsell may take order with such prou-  
 contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed  
 with our hand at Holierod house one thousand five  
 hundred foure score and one, the second daie of  
 aparch, the fourteenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus settled in Scotland, it fell herevpon  
 that James duke of Lennox, to which hono: he was  
 not long before aduanced, as is already set downe  
 in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred  
 three score and nineteene, was now in this yeare by  
 on displeasure, conceiued against him by others of  
 the nobilitie, banished Scotland, and inforced to re-  
 60 turne into France, there to passe the rest of his life  
 as he had done before. In whose exile was perfor-  
 med an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag  
 of five shillings should beare all the dukes of Eng-  
 land and Scotland. For when this duke was out of  
 the Scottish kingdome, there was neither duke in  
 that countie of England. But as I greatlie sauoz  
 not these things, so yet finding manie of them to  
 so: to vnhappie successe, I cannot altogether con-  
 demne them, especiallie sith I find two other which  
 concerning the last duke of England, being the  
 duke of Summer set, did prognosticat both the ad-  
 uancement of religion by him, and that he should  
 not

1582

The duke of  
 Lennox be-  
 misht.A digression  
 touching the  
 duke of Sum-  
 mer set.

R. v.

not long keepe his head on his shoulders, after that he began to make his stately buildings. Of which propheticall verses declaring the same, the first was,

The mare of the sea, which backe-ward is sea-mare.

Summerseat, or Summerseat.

The other prophetic mentioning his name of honor was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

Aestatis sedes cum scandis ad alta per ades,

Pro certo credes quod caput perdere debes.

And to proue that Summerseat was manie yeres past called in Latine Aestatis sedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall, sometime an herald living in the time of Henrie the first, who named him accordingly, when the said author excoosing himselfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to D. John Summerseat to correct; which doctor being the kings scholemaster and physician, a great learned man well sene in the mathematikes, one that had written much therein, and beie eloquent also, was (as this Roger Wall thought) most meet to haue the ouersight of his worke: which matter is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the acts of Henrie the first.

Roger Wall submitteth his worke to the censure of D. John Summerseat.

Summerseat.

Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannosa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefaci: ad hoc immensa verecundiae terrore ducta in lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & iniuis latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animositatis spiritum processura in lucem. Eia igitur consilij meis adquiescere non deseras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorem gloriosum inuenies, qui Aestatis sedes gloriosum cognome fortitus est, &c. Supplica igitur pauperrima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Aestatis sedem velint ostendere, &c. After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicat to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of Aestatis sedes, in English Summerseat:

Fertilis Aestatis florida sedes,  
Morum multiplici luce resurgens,  
Gloria doctorum gemma scientum,  
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicina,  
Pectore celesti callica candens,  
Preradians alijs lumine mentis,  
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,  
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,  
Nec latet eiusdem mira rapina,  
Quid fluminis uomis ignis in orbe,  
Aerique sinus abdita nosti? &c.

Thus hauing expressed the words and verses of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred yeres passed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerseat by the words of Aestatis sedes, I haue trulie bene the willinger to set downe the same by waie of digression (besides the former declared causes which moued me therunto) for that I would not suffer so worthe a man as that John Summerseat was to be buried in obliuion.

But leaning our Englishmen, let vs turne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating first of some thing done by them in the low countries, where one Stewart a Scot, hauing had charge of men in some part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, vnder William of Nassau, earle of Orange, did not fall from the states of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in those parts) because the states did not paie to him and his soldiers their due stipend and wages for the wars. At what time also the garrison of Burels were for the like cause in an uprore. But some portion of monie

Swiss in comment de reb. in orbe, histor. pa. 1092.

being offered vnto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certaine Scot, called Litchfield, & surname Semple, being captaine of the garrison of Litch, and long vnpaid his sallarie for those warres, did in waie manie times demand that monie due vnto him. Whereupon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceiue Litchfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in detaining of his due, he deuised with a new stratagem to bring this towne into the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, setting him selfe that he would in the midst of the night with his people go forth to bring home some great botie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, and late in the night gathered together a great prele of cattell, horses, oxen, hine, sheepe, and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Litch, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their botie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates full abrode, onlie opened a little window or doore, thereby to receiue Semple into the towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enemies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and reconer their botie, vntlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. When the porter believing all this to be true, forthwith set open the great gates of the citie; which done, the Scot entereth thereat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiours, which were not farre behind, but secretlie laie in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers first wonne the market place, and the next daie after the kalends of August reduced the whole towne of Litch vnder their owne subiection: the same Litch being a place well fenced, and set in such a conuenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and earlie age to come to Antwerpe, Ghelchin and Burels.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwene the lord Sparwell earle of Morton warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lord of Johnstane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded of an old enimitie begun in the time of Dowglas earle of Morton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurle burle the lord of Johnstane behaued himselfe vertie rigorously against the lord Sparwell, in blowing by with gunpowder the locks of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after the death of Dowglas earle of Morton, continuing betwene the lord Sparwell and Johnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yeare sought a fresh reuenge thereof, with the lord Johnstane had not (before this) either power or meanes to encounter with the lord Sparwell. But now the ladie Johnstane (being vertie familiar and fauored with and of James Stewart earle of Arrane) obtained of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord Sparwell earle of Morton, his husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Whereupon captaine Lamie and captaine Chanestane were sent with two companies of backbuts vnto the relife of the lord of Johnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie thereabout to assist him with their powers: which being had, he meant and therefore went to haue joined with the said two capteines Lamie and Chanestane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth quite

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A contention betwene the earle of Morton and the ladie Johnstane.

Ladie Johnstane hath an of the king.

quite contrarie to our determination. So the lard Johnstane was disappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whose hardfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuises of his enemies, a needfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnstane, and wiselie (as behoued him) seeing what danger might rise vnto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to encounter, and ludging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischief, and to stop their passage, did prepare to present all their deuises, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Sparwell capteine of Langholme with some horsemen and footmen vnder the conduct of James Fraiser brother to the lord of Fulforth, which Robert meeting on Craiford mere with the foresaid capitaine Lamie and Craneffane, before that they had ioined with the lard Johnstane gaue the charge vpon them, and that so fiercelie as they ouerthrew the whole strength of his enemies, slue Lamie, toke Craneffane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who fought their liues by the benefit of fleeing. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnstane, who desirous to be reuenged thereof, bled the helpe of other meanes when he perceived that force would not preuaile. And for that cause assembling such power as he had, he vied the strength of one element against another, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all speed he hastened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruellie spoiled, and in the same did burne certeine houses and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers tres, Duncoll, Cowhill, and such like. Wherevpon the earle Morton, who in like sort did not neglect his owne cause, but as opportunitie ferued, sought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Johnstane, bitterlie spoiled them, and yet not so satisfied, committed to the fire both the castles of Louchhouse and Louchwood belonging to Johnstane, and slue sundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Johnstane, being persons of good sort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lord Manefraie, some of the sons of John of Johnstane of Holgill, with others. Which done, the earle Morton proceeded vnto further pursuit, and determining fullie to reuenge himselfe vpon Johnstane, and his followers, forced the lard Johnstane himselfe to flee his furie. Wherefore he fled to a strong house called the Bonshaw castell belonging to Edward Pwine of the Bonshaw, thome the earle pursued, and besegged in the same place, at what time he so battered the castell with artillerie, that the house was almost gotten. Which being perceived of those within, not able to make further resistance, they fell to parole, and so to composition; whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended betwixt them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scrope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Johnstane. But the coles of inward griefe being covered with cold ashes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie covered, but in the end began afresh to shew their fire. For the lard Johnstane falling from the said accord, vpon what occasion I know not, either for cause giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill disposition in himselfe, or for both, they burst forth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worst,

for the lard Johnstane, he was taken betwixt the wall and the Warden ditches, where he was laid in ambush to haue performed some action against the said Robert Sparwell comming from the towne of Domfrees to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings castill named Craife) being by the earle Morton appointed to encounter with the said lard Johnstane: which this baron was the more willing to do, because he intirelie loued the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

These things thus performed and the successe thereof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew so heauilie displeased with the earle Morton that he was scarce able to susteine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the kings mind, when the king had supported the lard Johnstane with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exasperat the cause against him, and partie by the persuation & lamentation of the ladie of Johnstane, whereof the last was enimie to the earle, as of dutie she ought in respect of her husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enimie besides all reason against earle Morton, because that Morton refused to exchange the baronies of Poke and Sparwell yeloch with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adioined nere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deuiered others of no lesse value and hono<sup>r</sup> (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Kinnelle for the same) yet Morton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yeld therunto: as well for that Sparwell yeloch was his ancient inheritance, and the first land which his ancestors had, and whereof they toke the name of lord Sparwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Sparwells, who dwelling vpon these lands, would not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue bene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Sparwells so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Sparwell lard of Dewarke, and William Sparwell lard of Poke.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parliament in Gaie, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister canse to the king (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the diets of the world. Wherein he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publike to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were vnder his government, sith he was not bound therunto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting forth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parliament enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the king seemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in seeking a certeine equalitie of government in the ecclesiasticall hierarchy. Vpon which law established, the earles of Angus and Spar, with diuers others of the tempo<sup>r</sup>allie and the spirituallie,

Robert Sparwell base brother to earle Morton sent against capitaine Lamie.

Captaine Lamie & Craneffane once thrown.

The castles Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnstane forced to flee.

The lord Scrope compounded the contention betwixt earle Morton and the lard Johnstane.

The lard Johnstane taken.

The king displeased with earle Morton for the cause of the lard Johnstane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton.

The Sparwells would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.



as Andrew Heluine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were inforced for the vse of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselves from their countrie, and to flie into England there to vse the libertie of their religion, and to prouide for the safetie of their persons, who coming into this realme, made their abode and sojourned at Norwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discovered by Robert Hamilton vnto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, whereupon some were summoned vpon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Dologlasse were summoned to the court vpon suspicion that they were consenting and concurring to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Donihafell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Baithkist, Robert Hamilton of Inchmarchan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides which John Hoppingell of the Hayes was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Keier with the lord Malus and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Donihafell and the lord Malus were executed, with the lord Rathwine earle of Galloway, treasurer of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before said made this following declaration vpon the said acts of parliament, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those lawes, with a further explanation also of the same lawes delivered in that declaration with these wordes.

#### The kings maiesties declaration of his acts confirmed in parliament.

**A**S much as there is some euill affected men that goeth about so farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to slander and impair the kings maiesties fame and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had declined to papistrie, & that he had made manie acts to abolish the free passage of the gospel, good order and discipline in the church: which hurtes are maintained by rebellious subiects, who would glablie couer their seditious enterprises vnder pretence of religion (albeit there can be no god religion in such a raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their native soueraigne, and peruerdie doth stand against the dth, b and, & obligation of their faith, wherevnto they haue subscribed) therefore that his maiesties faithfull subiects be not abused with such slanderous reports, and his highnesse god affectionat friends in other countries maie vnderstand the verities of his vpright intention, his highnesse hath commanded this breife declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts of parlement holden in Maie one thousand five hundred seare score and foure, to be published and imprinted, to the effect that the indirect practises of such as slander his maiestie and his lawes maie be detected and discovered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approueth the true profession of the gospel, sincere preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, presentlie by the godnesse of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the faith set downe by act of parlement the first yere of his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praised be God) is come to that ripenesse of iudgement by reabing and hearing the word of God, that his high-

nesse is able to conuince and overthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth that common wealth to be counted happy wherein a philosopher reigneth), or be that reigneth is a philosopher) we maie much more esteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a prince, and whose hart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfort not onlie of his god subiects and friends in other countries but of them that professeth the gospel euerie where, he being a king of great wisdom, and by his birth right borne to great possession; but much more his highnesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and ballie increase of all heauenlie sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties totall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporall is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the saviour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the misterie of the crosse and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the coming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie surelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chiefe and principall number appointed by the law of God, to see God glorified, vice punished and vertue maintained within his realme: and the soueraigne iudgment of a godlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to appertene to his highnesse care and solicitude. Which power and authority of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion against their native king, by the instigation of furdrie vniquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andrew Heluine of a salt and sterie humor, vsurping the pulpit of Saundois, without anie lawfull calling, and priuie at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a sundaie, to inflame the hearts of the people by odious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and counsell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospel be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their native king, and not by popular sermons (which hath borne the euersion and decay of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturb the countrie. The said master Andrew being called before his highnesse, presumptuously answered that he would not be iudged by the king and counsell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be ante colour to anie sedition in word or deed against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gracious prince) was not willing to haue be-

sed anie rigor against the said master Andreto, if he had humble submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offense, and craued pardon: who notwithstanding afraid of his owne guiltinesse, being priue to diuers conspirators before, fled out of the realme, whose naughtie & presumptuous refusing of his highnesse iudgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none should decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common prouerbe beareth *Ex malis moribus bonae leges natae sunt*, which is, that of euill maners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not anie right intol-  
 10 rable arrogancie in anie subiect called before his prince, professing and authorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apostles, or others (conducted by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to as-  
 firme (as manie do) that princes and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters do onlie belong to the  
 20 ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himselfe and his cleargie from all iudgment of princes, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onlie by the example of the goodlie gouernours, iudges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitive church, in which the emperors being  
 30 iudges ouer the bishops of Rome, deposed them from their seats, appointed iudges to decide and determine causes ecclesiasticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the counsell holden at Trus, and by infinit god reasons which shall be set downe by the grace of God in an other senerall worke, and shall be sufficientlie proued and verified. But this appeareth at this present to be an vntimelie and vnprofitable  
 40 question, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie question of this land of heresie, whereby the people found mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched forth, his maiestie would vse the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most goodlie emperors haue vsed: and his maiestie following their example would allow the counsell of learned pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be  
 50 opened, and heresie repressed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such troubles in this land, neither hath anie heresie taken ante deepe root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, joining themselves to rebels haue  
 60 trauelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might imbzece anie sinister opinion of his maiesties vpright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take auaite the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decaie; but rather to preserve, increase, and mainteine the same. And as there is in this  
 70 realme, iustices, counsellors, shiriffes, prouosts, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be done in order, and a goodlie quietnes may be preferred in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, where the place was vsed to be conuenient, twise in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the ministerie and  
 80 their estate: alwaies referring to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them do amisse, neglect their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such maner and sort, that they in no waies pretend anie

immunitie, priuilege, and exemption, which onlie was inuented by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder  
 90 fot the scepter of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie, vnder pretense of new inuented presbyters, which neither should answer to the king nor bishop vnder his maiestie: but should haue such infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onlie his maiesties intention to repress, and not to take auaite anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parliament dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parliament. Which act speciallie concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme, inuented in this  
 100 land, called the presbyterie: wherein a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselves to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subiects, vsurpe the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, & altereth the lawes at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or  
 110 approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, subiect to a christian prince. The perill thereof did so increase, that in case it had not bene repressed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the ouerthrow of his maiesties estate, the  
 120 decaie of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath giuen commandement against the same. And that the reader may knowe the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby insueeth in this land, I will onlie set downe one, whereby they may vnderstand what perill was in the rest.

The ambassado: of France, returning home into  
 130 his countrie, commanded the prouosts, bailiffes, and counsellors of Edenburgh to make him a banquet, that he might be receiued honorablie according to the amitie of ancient times betwene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the  
 140 saturday by his highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the monday. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselves on the sunday in the morning, and presumptuously determined & agreed, that the ministers  
 150 of Edenburgh should proclaim a fasting vpon the same monday; where their severall ministers one after another made three severall sermons, and inueined against the prouosts, bailiffes, and counsell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie, who  
 160 repared to the banquet at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarcelie by his maiesties authoritie could be withhelden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obeying onlie his highnesse law-  
 170 full command; which the law of all countries called *ius gentium*, requires towards ambassadors of foreign countries. And not onlie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclaimed direalie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble: as may manifestlie appeare, in that the especiall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the  
 180 said pretended presbyterie, hath joined themselves with his maiesties rebels; and slieng forth of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, hath discouered what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not in time prouided remedie.  
 The

The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemble of the whole cleargie in the realme: vnder pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauourers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme: where there was no certeine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall conuention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succeeded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

\* which is one  
of the estates  
of parliament,

This generall assemble amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his maiesties regents in his minoritie, that the estate of bishops should be mainteined and authorized, as is registered in the booke of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their diocesse, vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundee, and Glasgow, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, toke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwritting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demitt and leaue their offices and iurisdiccions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings counsell or parliament, without commission obtained from their assemble: that they should confirme nothing in parliament and counsell, but according to their acts and intunccions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the counsell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue effected in the bishops, they purposed to create in themselves, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parliament and counsell, might be authorized in place of the estate: whereby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experienced of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue bene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other apparance that they should haue staied from such dallie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continually be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they mainteined by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemble was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings throughout the realme; especiallie, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprize. For at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the assemble to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certeine great alterations

to haue ensued in this land; while at the gods pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discovered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath bene iustlie moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so preiudiciallie to his estate.

But especiallie his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemble being met at Edinburgh, did authorize and auow the fact perpetrated at Ruthwen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which did notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parlement accounted to be treason, the said assemble esteeming their iudgement to be the soueraigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approued the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemble, and the lawes of the estate directed, twied in ciuill matter, with the which the assemble should not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemble, which in deed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall counells at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the emperour for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the empire. Yea the bishop of S. Andrews had not in time of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before by his highnes most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maie fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie diocesse or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discret men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offense, worthy of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and executions to follow therevpon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their desertings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and godlie of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as appertaine to the vniuersitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable counsell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclaimed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentieth act ratifieth and approueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the ouersight and iurisdiction, euerie one in their owne diocesse: which forme of gouernement,

and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apostles, by continuall succession of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truth: but also this realme embraced and receiued the christian religion, the same estate hath bene maintained, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, untill within these few yeares, some curious and busie men haue practised to induce into the ministerie an equalitie in all things, aswell concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusion his maiestie finding by most dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduise of his highnes estates, aduisedly concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the solicitude & care of all churches in one diocesse to appertaine to the bishop and commissioners therof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his iurisdiction. For as it becometh his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and vniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie should appoint euerie one to discharge his dutie: which his highnesse cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend and transgresse against dutie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it belongeth his maiestie to haue bishops & ouerscers vnder him which maie be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing acceste to his maiesties parlement and counsell, maie intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propone their grieue vnto his highnesse and estates, and receiue his maiesties sauourable answer thereon. The which forme doth preferue a godlie quietnesse, vnitie, concord and peace in the estate, and one vni forme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie diuideth the same, and vnder the pretence of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtil dealers to be aduanced and enriched: and in pretending of partie, to seeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the rest of the simple sort.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath re-established the said estate, it is not his highnesse will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to doe within his diocesse what he pleaseth. For his maiestie cannot allow of anie popular confusion, wherein (as the proverbe saith) Nulla tyrannis equiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops authoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the counsell of thirtene of the most ancient, wise, and goodlie persons of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemble of the prouince: by whose aduise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnesse will and commandement, that their bishops and commissioners twise in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Easter, and the first of September, hold their synodall assemblies in euerie diocesse, for the keeping of good orders therein: and if anie be subbozne, or contemne within their

bounds the good order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their deservings. Forther it is his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onelie and full commission of his maiestie without admission or oinarie, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patrons, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen anie of the said bishops or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous or offensiu in their behauior, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highnesse will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding anie priuilege of his highnes estate, counsell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall assemble, notwithstanding of a confused multitude, as it was before: but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescribed in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastly his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrie, the enterprise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certeine number of the ministerie within those bounds, maie be most commodiously once in euerie fiftene daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all lawfull meetings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: so his maiestie is well affected to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commandement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who maie haue the ouersight of these bounds, and be answerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell and synod: and he to be respected reasonable for his paines, at the modification of stipends: that all things maie be orderly done in the church, peace & quietnesse maintained in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits & expresse forbids vnder the paines contained in his maiesties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrable at his maiesties sight & counsell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissioners, whereby his highnesse maie be certeinly informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not, to meddle with anie ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before: but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall office: which his highnesse wisheth them faithfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie maie in a prosperous reigne enioie god and long life, and continue and increase in the feare of the almighty.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into sundrie heads as here followeth.

The kings intention drawne into  
certeine articles, and published  
in print.



His maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the gospel, and preaching thereof within his realme.

2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and punish such as seditiously abuse the truth, and factiously applie or rather bewraie the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impairing of his highnesse and counceils honour.

3 His maiesties intention is, if anie question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godlie, wise, and experimented pastours, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all heresie and schisme by that means expessed.

4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of godd order in euerie paroch, certeine ouerseers to the good behauiour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or visitour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie: in which a wise and a graue man selected by the bishop or commissioner at the synodall assemblie, shall render account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for which cause some respect of lining shall be had vnto him, who susteins that burden.

6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie bishops, their counceils and synods: but if anie of them doe amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or staie anie godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitive church, but that the ministers of the word meddle themselves onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not fearfullie of the estate.

8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerated in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commissioner, and their counceils and synods.

9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble not anie generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and licence obtained therevnto: which vpon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an vniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and discussed.

10 It is his maiesties intention to assist this assemblie himselfe, or by a noble man of his counsell, his highnesse deputie.

11 It is his maiesties intention, that when anie paroch findeth necessitie of anie fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commissioner and their counsell, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull, as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may within the same, with his counsell prescribe anie publike humillation.

12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclaimed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall counsell, wher in his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euerie diocesse with their counsell proceed into the ecclesiasticall gouernement, but as is said with a counsell, that both tyrannie and confusion may be avoided in the church.

14 It is his maiesties intention, that commissi-

oners be directed vniuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his maiesties commissioners take order presentlie for the translation of such ministers, whose trauels they esteeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie serue in an other place.

These things was the king faine to publish, to staie the euill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, which being nothing but that which seemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, should neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the due tie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift by their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But leauing the discourse of these things to preachers, to whom it belongeth to instruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrents of Scotland.

And yet before we speake anie thing of those matters, sith I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather because the same consisteth of three estates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement doth, from whence it seemeth to me that they haue fet their light. Touching which, Lescus in his Scottish historie lib. 1. pag. 75, vnder the title of Leges Scotorum, writeth in this sort. Qui vero seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges descriperunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerunt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latine scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) præfigitur, quod ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiorum (quæ populari sermone parliamenta dicimus) acta inscribuntur. Quanquam hic aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sæpe fit) incidat quæ legibus nostratibus non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidendam necessarium censetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquisitè inuestigare, intelligat potestatem has ferendi antiquandique trium ordinum suffragijs liberè in publico latris regis assensu confirmatis esse positam. On which parlements so assembled, consisting of the three estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblie is made, to keepe such parlement attired in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the ensignes of his kingdomes and kinglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) those common people will manie times giue such bie names as seemeth best liking to themselves, and is most answerable to the nature & order of that parlement, as we also doe here in England, whereof I can produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbear, and onelie set downe one prooffe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the same, least in passing it ouer without some example thereof, I might make a vaine shew of knowledge consisting in naked words, without anie sound matter. Wherefore I saie, that as in England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and foztyth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, the parlement

The parliament of Scotland consisted of three estates.

Parliament's nicknames.

The made parliament.



The running  
parlement.

Lellous.

1585

ment held at Oxford by the lords against the king, was called *Parlamentum infanum*, because manie things were there intreated which turned to the death of diuerse noble men. So the Scots in like maner bynamed a parlement, in the yeare of Christ 1558, (being the fourteenth yeare of Spaine the now imprisoned quene of Scotland) and called the same a running parlement, because there were manie intermissions and remouings during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Lellous in these words. *A pte sequenti habita sunt Edinburgi trium ordinum communitas quibus domini Brunshuici, Graues, Balmucii, & alij nominis quorum bona a gubernatore publicata fuerunt, singulari regi Francie commendatione dignati, forma utque bonis relictis sunt. Hac vero communitas quod intermissa potius quam missa, quesi conuenirentur, nomen a vultu acceptum, et currentia dicuntur.* Thus much being said about their parlements, let's againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland.

About this time an ambassage was sent out of England into Scotland, for the concluding of a peace betwene both nations; the contents whereof, the king opening vnto the lords and gentlemen assembled in parlement, and holden at saint Andrews did vnto them this speech following.

The kings speech to the estates, concerning a league in religion with England.

**T**wo causes my lordis and ye all of the estates haue moued me to send for you at this time to craue your aduises towards them, quharof sith the one is generall & the other particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greatest weight. Amongst all the benefites that God doth bestow vpon his elect and church, the triall and sifting of the god chosin from the bad hypocrites, is one of the most speciall, quobich he hath besid in all ages for the separationn of thame, althwell for that to lang companie of the wicked doth corrupt the goodlie, as also that their separationn is a taken in this earth, of Gods loue towards them, quobich triall he doth now chafelic vse, for that the number of the wicked doth abound in these latter daies, quherin God doth permit the diuell most to rage. For quhat greater triall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the badward christians, I meane the papists in a league quobich they terme holie, albeit most unholie in varie truth, for the subuersioun of the true religion in all realmes throughout the quhole varld. This is a matter so manifest and notorious to you all, euen by the report of the smallest merchantis that trauali, as it doth dilate the selfe, thought I were silent.

This leagues quhome of I speake, are composed of Frenchmen and hispaniagnols, assisted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, solemlie bounde to performe the foresaid enterpryse before they leaue armes: the performance quherof we ought to resist for three causes (to wit) for conscience, honor, and loue of selfis. For gif they maie attaine to their purpose (as God forbid) either will they destroye or rot out vs, our bilis and childre in, & quhat shewe we possesse gif we remaine constant; either else must we render Christ Jesus, and suffer our sacris which is the most nablest part of man to be bound with the bundis of idolatrie, and our bodies to be used at their inordinat plesuris. But sith the loue of our selfis and our honour cannot pervert the one, and that our consciencis and the remembrance we owe to God, cannot suffer the other: I craue my lordis your best & soundest opinions and aduises quhat ye thinke meetest to be used for the remedie hereof. But gif ye desire to first haue my

opinion, it is this in few wordis; that as sundrie christian princis haue alreadie counselled me, our contraleague salbe maid, not onelie in termes, but in effect holie, for the ioining togidder all true christian princis to defend the miselfis, in case of others inuasioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for selfis, acceptable to God, and wise in the sight of the varld. By this meanes fall our consciencis, honors, and lifis be preferred, and God and his religion glorified and advanced.

And sith the quene of England is not onelie a true christian, but also nerer tomit to vs in might, wealth, consanguinitie and goodwill, I thinke it meetest in mine opinion, that it be our league first and maist aduantageous with hir; for quobich cause I haue maid and set downe a forme of act to be subscribed by you all, quherin ye promise to ratifie and approve in parlement, quhat former articles I, or anie in my name fall conclude with the quene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and effectuating of the foresaid leagur. But for that the act it selfe will make ample informe you, it salbe presently read in all your audienis.

Upon this speech the lords being of diuerse opinions, some willing to embrace the league with England, and some desirous to leaue it, and to iaine a mitie with France according to the most ancientest leagues, which haue bene established betwene them and the Scots by most of their former kings (whereof the first was Athains, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation on the rof, which was the flower delices added to the arms of Scotland) there was nothing done in that conuention. After which, the banished lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: and after some abode there made, vpon diuerse meetings & consultations, at last gathered their powers, and on the first of Noumber they pitched their tents, placed there as it had bene a new tostone, to the great terror of their enemies within sterling: bettering for the cause of their coming this proclamation following.

The proclamation published by the nobilitie of Scotland, containing the causes of their repaiing towards the towne of sterling to the kings maiestie, the second daie of Nouember.

**W**heras the kings maiestie our soveraigne good, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainelie understood to haue bene abused, and his roiall qualities given to him by the almightie God (which caused his fame far aboue the capacite of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praised, to the great comfort of all his subiects) hath bene these yeares past obscured by the craft & subtiltie of some lewd and wicked persons of no desert or worthinesse, and for the most part of base linage, not borne to one foot breadth of land, yet of marvellous aspiring woyngs and cruel inclination; who vnder colour of friendship and bloud creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking onelie their owne particular profit and promotion, shaking off (as it were) not onelie all christian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie used amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtill foris and bloudie woules, by twisting of lawes and other deceitfull practises, hath so wasted, to me in peces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iustice and policie received of our ancestors, remaineth nothing, neither in spiritual nor temporal estate;

state; but the naked shaddo & counterfetted maske thereof to our souveraignes high dishonour, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie grieffe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne what iustice and quietnesse was in the realme, what heartie loue betwixt his maiestie and his subiects; what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what daile hope of increase; what expectation was of his highnesse in foren nations, before the arrivall of Dvigne, afterwards called the duke of Lennox, and the entring in credit of James Stewart, and cozonell Stewart with their unhappie companies. But what hath succeeded since, no true Scottish hart can remember without extreame dolour: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replenished with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisest of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subiects, & to keepe the strengths of their realms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preserve themselves against such inconueniences, as manie princes of that land misgoverned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue bene subiect vnto) that the foresaid abusozs had depriued his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them laie. For the these strengths of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who by bagging of his pedegree by descent from duke Dordacke (one that was beheaded for his treason against his soueraigne) was not ashamed to saie (meaning of himselfe) here stands the person of king James the tenth. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made unable to punish them, if at any time hereafter he should perceine their false and treasonable doings, what can be added more than these said seditions hath already done in that behalfe, fixing vnder his maiesties name and authoritie, such parcialitie is vsed in all matters, such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good subiects (upon the experience of his mild & calme gouernment before these lewd men about him) clerelie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agoe by breiuefall male-contentment of the people (procuring from the causes aforesaid) procured a great distraction of the kings leges hearts, and had cast his maiesties honor, crowne, and estate in marvellous danger; whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subiects are certeinlie perswaded, that if the said lewd persons could be separated from his maiestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnes in euerie respect, which hath bene these pæres past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & seek for their particular commodity, the destruction of certein seuerall persons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

The worst and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue giuen best proofe of their forwardnesse in true religion, and fidelitie to their soueraigne) are by parcialitie, and wresting of lawes, without mercie either executed, cozened, imprisoned, banished, or at the least debarred his maiesties presence, against the ministerie, scholes, and elergie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercises, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parli-

aments, proceedings, or at the least by laudable customs some permitted euer since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiasticall discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie & examine the liues, manners, and knowledge of euerie person, and to reforme the same if need require. With this the most learned, and of most vnspotted liues of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and consciences to abandon their countrie, or else inhibited to preach, or depriued of their stipends, Jesuits, seminarie priests, and such as be knowne practisers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie council of Trent are interteined, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in session, to occupie the places from the which the most goodlie & faithfull senators haue bene by them deieced. An euident presage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the estate of barrowes, by intrusion of such magistrats to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgesses, nor apt to discharge them selues of such offices, but men elected to aggrandise and to consent to the appetite of the seditious aforesaid, their priuileges & ancient liberties are so preiudiced, that without timely remedie, that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenly decle. So as these three pillars (whereby the king & common wealth should be preserved & upheld) being wasted & undermined in maner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuersall ruine and overthrow of the whole bodie of the estate; except God of his mercie preuent the same. Besides all these, the foresaid abusozs not resting content with the enimities aboue expressed, haue practised, and daile do practise to turne the happie amitie & loue, which now a good space hath stood betwene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hostilitie & hatred, without respect of neighborhod or kindred, standing betwene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that his maiestie of England hath bestowed vpon the king our soueraigne, and his whole countrie, first by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preserving his maiestie, when as in his minority he could not take in hand or enterprise for himselfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with such persons as by all meanes sought his maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie his maiesties rebels lately executed in England is made manifest. But how soone they perceiued open danger to arise, by open dealing with his enemies, then fraudfullie to include his maiestie, they haue pretended these monthes past, in great friendship and kindnesse, promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulat a bond offensiue and defensiu to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberall promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue bene in their minds but falshood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whole world, who being a young noble man, for his birth and qualittes vertie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and good affection to the king our soueraigne, and to all Scottish men in generall, one that merited great praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable maner, euen when as greatest kindnes and friendship was pretended; which cannot but produce marvellous suspicion and slander, as well against the king our soueraigne, as against the whole countrie, to his maiesties great dishonour, and discredit of his innocent subiects, if condigne iustice be not ministered vpon the authors, and the executors of the horrible crime aforesaid.

last, which is most of all, and necessarie craueth present reformation, the foresaid abuses couer all these enormities with his maiesties name and authority, thereby thinking to excuse the misdeeds, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie slanderous and dangerous to his maiestie, if such licentious persons (who hath already made shipwacks of all honestie) be suffered to remaine in his companie: so is it shamefull to be reported in other nations, that such a few number of beggerlie fellows replenished with all vice, should extinguish the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, and keepe his maiestie thall to authorize by his roiall power their abominable and execrable facts. For the causes aforesaid, and manie others that might be iustlie alleged, one of his maiesties nobilitie here present, in the feare of God and our souveraignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be professors of the blessed euangell, and bothe counsellors to his highnesse our soueraigne, bound in dutie not onelie to hazard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the same euangell and true religion, but also in conscience charged to be carefull of his maiesties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maiesties most noble progenitors of worthie memorie.

In consideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our selues together for redresse and reformation of the same, seeing the suffering thereof hath already wounded the estate of true religion, dishonored his maiestie, disturbed the whole realme, and had almost disioined aswell the hearts of the princes as of the subiects of the two nations: we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conscience (all doubt and perill set apart) to procure the separation and thrusting awaie of the said desperat and enoime persons from about his maiestie, that his highnesse being restored to his former libertie, maiestie, peaceable, and wiselie gouerne his subiects and realme, by aduise of graue, modest, and indifferent counsellors; onelie respecting his maiesties suertie and preservation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in prejudice of the same, maie be solemnlie cancelled, and for euer annulled, his maiestie restored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by punishing of vice cheefelie vpon the authors of these late misorders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once disburdened of the heauie oppressions and iniuries that they haue with no small grieue so long sustained, and the happy amitie with England reestablished and conserued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our soueraigne, and vniuersall contentment of all good men cuerie where. In prosecution whereof, we protest before God and his holie angels, we shall neither spare our liues, lands, nor goods, but frankly hazard and expend the same as need craveth, untill the said abuses be either apprehended or presented to iustice, to suffer for their demerits; or else (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maiesties companie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our soueraignes lords name) all and sundrie his subiects, as well to burrow as to land, to fortifie and assist this goodlie enterprise, and to concur with vs to that effect, as they will giue testimonie of their affection to the advancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme; certifieng all and sundrie that both

attempt any thing to the contrarie, or will not take one sold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, assistants of the treasonable conspirators aforesaid, and enemies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authority, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, & will vse them in bodie and goods accordingly. And that all iudices as well lords of sessions as shiriffs, commissioners, and other inferior iudges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the lawes of the realme, as they will answer vpon their allegiance and bittermost perill, with certification of the disobeisance, as is aforesaid.

The assemble of the nobilitie and the proclamation thus knowne, diuerse matters passed betwixt the king and the lords, as petitions to and fro made and exhibited, with grants thereunto according: and to conclude, much congratulation was made for returne into their countrie of Scotland. In December there was a parliament called at Liffgo, at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced from his earldome, and (if I erre not) of vice of chancelloship: the remembrance whereof hath induced me to record some things touching some such persons as haue possessed that dignitie.

#### The names and times of certeine chancellors of Scotland, gathered out of the histories of that nation.



William Wood, bishop of Dunblaine was chancelor of William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the peare of Christ 1185, as some haue (but Lesleus, lib. 6. pag. 1160, whose account herein is false) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the said William, which fell in the peare of Christ 1214. After whose death he was by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place of chancelor.

William Wood

John Lion chancelor of Scotland (in the time of Robert the second of that name, and the first of the house of the Stewards which were the crowne) was chancelor of Scotland, who bring in great fauour with the said Robert the second, married the lady Elisabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whom he had in frank marriage diuerse possessions called Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of which Lion is that surname descended, who in memorie of that marriage beare in their armes the lions and lillies, with the tress in such forme as the king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath noted. Which Lion being chancelor was slain in the peare of our Lord 1380, being about the tenth peare of the same Robert the second, who after banished the earle of Crawford.

John Lion

Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberdeen, being chancelor about the peare of Christ 1411, in the vacancie of the kingdome, vnder duke Moricke, betwixt the death of Robert the second (which fell in the peare of Christ 1406, and the beginning of the reigne of James the first, in the peare of our Lord 1426) was sent ambassado into France with other noble men of Scotland. After which ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long: for Henrie Richon, who came shortly in his place of the bishopricke, was with other sent ambassado into England, to fetch home James the first, and to inuest him in the crowne of Scotland.

Gilbert Grenlaw

William Creichton knight, whom Lesleus termeth the wisest man that euer Scotland saw, being chancelor to James the first, was (in the peare 1433, about the ninth peare of the same king James) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepburne of Hales, sent

William Creichton

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliuer the same to the bzingers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobeie, but permitted them to enter accordingly. After this in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie five, & the eleuenth of the same king, he was sent ambassado: into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good service being well weied, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the gouernment of Scotland, in the yeare of our Lord 1436, confirmed in his office of chancello:ship, beside which he had the gouernment of the kings person, and of the castle of Edinburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betwene sir Alexander Leuingston the gouernour of the realme and this chancello:, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seven, whereby ensued much mischance and bloodshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I haue found to happen during the minoritye and the insufficiencie of kings) at what time the queene taking part with the gouernour against the chancello:, found means by subtiltie to get the king into hir possession out of the hands of the chancello:, after that she had handsomely trusted by the king in a trunke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the gouernour besieged the chancello: in the castell of Edinburgh, but in the end they agreed that Creichton should still keepe the castle of Edinburgh and his office of chancello:.

James the  
second.

That done, in the yeare one thousand four hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of James the second, the chancello: obtained to haue the queene Dowager, and hir husband James Stewart lord of Loche released out of the prison of Stereling, whither they were committed by the gouernour. Which done, the chancello: keeping in mind the deceit of the queene, in ouerreaching him by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the gouernour to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleasure, did so worke, that he found means that he onelie accompanied with foure & twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Stereling parke) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edinburgh, wherewith the gouernour was greivously displeased: but not able to remedie the same, there was an agreement made betwene the chancello: & him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancello:, and the gouernour continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of James the second, the gouernour and the chancello: assemble a counsell of the nobilitie at Edinburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the same James the second, both the gouernour and the chancello: (at the perswasion of William earle Dowglas) were removed from their offices by the king, who being now about foureteen yeres old, had taken the absolute gouernment of the kingdome vpon him: besides which they were also put from the counsell, their friends were banished the court, and they were summoned to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as gillie in conscience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enemies, whereupon they were proclaimed rebels and put to the horne, which occasioned William Dowglas the chancello: great entrie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requitall thereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entred the land

of Dowglas, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Dowglas, caused him to procure the king in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and five, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliuerie of the castles of Edinburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to do until the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscat, having therein no iniurie done vnto him, for as saith

Lesleus: Primus omnium sanciuerat Creichtonus, vt qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violata maiestatis arceflatur, cuius ille legis poenam primus subiit, as he did which denied Phalaris bull. But after, when the king had besieged Edinburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was deliuered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancello:, which obtained, he neuer after delt in affairs of the common welth, whereby growing againe into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie & six, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassado: to the duke of Gelberland to obtaine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding, in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and seven, forsaied, for that his seruants would not deliuer Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it seemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglas (supposing him to be the cause that the king misliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was coming out of the castle of Edinburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped vnto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recovered Edinburgh from the Dowglas, and had destroyed the earle at that present, if he had not shifted alwaie more speedilie: who being thus dishonorable chased from Edinburgh, vnto the erle of Crawford and Ross to ioine with him against Creichton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting god for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand four hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, greivously fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edinburgh, the earle dome of Spurreie was given to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whome it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vntill sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglas, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not keepe that earle dome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendered the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathness, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I doe now intreat by reason of this chancello:.

Andrew Stewart lord of Anandale was chancello: of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thre score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Poweie to conclude a mariage with the king of Denmarke, betwene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Iulie, at what time they were married accordingly. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ

one thousand four hundred four score and two, and the two and twentieth of James the third, when Alexander Steward Duke of Albanie with the duke of Gloucester were come into Kaskairig with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agreement was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was restored home, and had both honors and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the government of the kingdom for a certaine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the quene at Sterling, the duke by the quenes perswasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edinburgh, and by force restored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton

James Beton archbishop of Glascow was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred & thirtene, being the first yeare of king James the first. This man being of great wisdom, was appointed amongst others to assist the quene in the government of the realme, whereunto he was for a time advanced; but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell against the bishop, did immediately after the marriage, performed the first of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and foure score, betwene hir and Archibald Dowlgasse earle of Angus (which this bishop incountred as much as he could) take the great seale from the said bishop of Glascow, at saint Johns towne, where upon the bishop got him to Edinburgh, and assisted with manie lords, kept the quene and hir husband out of that towne, whereby great dissention and part taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betwene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene, he continued with the earle of Arrane, who submitted himselfe to the gouernor. Shortly following, the gouernor gaue to this archbishop of Glascow the abbey of Arbroath, assigning to the earle of Marre a large pension out of the same, which bishop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fentene in Fraice, when the gouernor went into France appointed amongst others, to haue the rule of the realme untill his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being diuided about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and nintene, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glascow; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edinburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadors came to Sterling, where a peace was proclaimed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one state, or what peace will be long embraced amongst ambitious minds? sith in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentieth, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when diuerse of the peers were come to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus against the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they pursued the earle and chancellor so hotlie, that they were both constrained to forsake the towne, and to flee through the north Loch, about the thirtieth daie of April. But as the euents of quarels be doubtfull, now by now downe, so this archbishop not long after this disgrace, recovered breath, and in pouember following, did accompanie the regent come out

of France to Edinburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refusing, it was agreed that the earle should passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus hauing the better of his enemies, Andrew Forman bishop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thousand five hundred twentieth and two, being about the ninth yeare of James the first, by occasion whereof, this chancellor James Beton bishop of Glascow was aduanced to that see, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Upon which new honor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor any long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his blured government, and denied the deliuerie of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great seale, which was deliuered to the messengers: upon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of diuorce sued before him, betwene the quene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and six, take for the quene and the bishop of saint Andrews: but because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbey of Dumfermling, and the castell of saint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding which, the archbishop keeping in fauor with the old quene and the young king, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and nine, and the sixteenth yeare of James the first, christen James the kings sonne boine at saint Andrews, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not graue me to set downe what Lesleus hath written, which though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I had rather set downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our our tong; to deprive the author of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writeth.

Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreae-politanus, qui maximis reipublicae honoribus summaque gloria apud nos quam diutissime floruerat, aetate iam grandior, natura concedebat, ac in aede sancti Andreae tumulo honorifice tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregie charos habuit, viuis constituebat, ut in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficeretur. In episcopatum autem Santandreae-politanum, ac in abbatiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudentia, & animi magnitudine praestans David Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbatiam verò Dumfermlingensem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impediuit, quominus illi, quos archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficijs liberè fruerentur: ne cuius viui mentem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiosè videretur rescidisse. Hic archiepiscopus praecipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreae-polis dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniae vim qua reliqua pars indioata perpolliretur, testato reliquit: verum pecunia illa in alios usus postea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acrius dicam) perierat. Thus much Lesle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of saint Andrews.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glascow, and the kings scholemaster, was chancellor as appeareth by Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and two, writeth: Non multo post Andreas Formannus episcopus

Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 430.



copus Santandropolitanus vitā cessit, huius quā primū honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Beton archiepiscopus Glasguensis, qui quidem archiepiscopus omnium summa voluntate cessit praeferatissimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quod recōditā eruditionis, sincerā vitā consilijque grauiissimi laudibus praeferit, regis tenella aetas moribus doctrināque informanda credebatur, quem intimis sensibus ita dilexit rex, vt sui intimi concilij socium, regniq̃ue cancellarium postea illum cooptauerat.

David Beton (the brothers sonne of James Beton deceased archbishop of saint Andriew) was chancelor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others sent ambassadoz into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, being the one and twentieth yeare of the government of James the first, for to procure the earle of Glendoune sister in marriage for the king; but the same toke not effect, because the king going in person into France liked hir not. About thre yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven, and the foure and twentieth yeare of James the first, this David was aduanced to the hono: of a cardinall, of which title I do not at this time remember, that euer I haue read anie other to haue inioied but Walter Warblaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth:

Walterus episcopus Glasguensis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemētis 7, obiit inter annum 1400, & 1409, whome the Scottish histories make cardinall some what before in the yeare one thousand thre hundred fourscore and two, about the eleuenth yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassadoz to renew the league betwene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom also the king of France gaue in commendam the bishopricke of Miropen: of the making of which Beton cardinall, thus the same Onuphrius writeth: David de sancto Andrea Scorus episcopus Miropiensis presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Celio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1338, 13 kalend. Ianuar. per Paulum tertiu, anno pontificatus 13.

In which words Onuphrius, and Lesleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven. In which yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others sent ambassadoz into France after the death of the quene, to procure Marie of Loreine widow duchesse of Longuile, and daughter to the duke of Guise, to be giuen to king James in marriage; which matter he brought to his desired effect.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his vnckle James Beton archbishop of saint Andriew, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to succedd in the same bishops see and abbacie, which he inioied accordingly: who aduanced with these dignities, did after the death of James the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and two, labor by policies and other extraordinarye deuises to be gouernor of the realme, during the minoritye of the yong quene; but he was disappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that function; by meanes whereof, there fell continuall dissensions betwene the nobilitie, which ended not untill this cardinall was slaine as after it shall appeare. For shortly after in the said yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward (in the castle of Dalbeth) vnder the custodie of the

lord Seton, smallie favoring the French faction) because he would haue perswaded the nobilitie to forsake the motion of the R. of England, determining to marie his son prince Edward to the yong quene of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine there; for by the gouernors appointment he was removed to his owne castell of St. Andriew, hauing watch and ward about him, to see him safelie kept, in which place also he did not long continue: for corrupting his keepers he found meanes to escape; which done, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and thre, he came to the coronation of the yong quene, and shortly after perswaded the earle of Arrane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of England, and wholie to become French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all things, appointing euerie officer, and growing into great credit, did in like sort at other times dispose of the common-wealth as seemed best liking vnto him. Whereupon, the earle of Lenear taking part with the English, opposed himselfe against the gouernor; and the cardinall, whereby followed sharpe warres, the cardinall still supporting and counselling the gouernor: which troubles being somewhat abated, by reason the earle of Lenear was gone into England, the cardinall in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, received the patriarck of Jerusalem arriued in Scotland. In which meane time, there was great contention betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, for bearing their crosses in the others iurisdiction: whereupon they fell from words to swords, which the gouernor appeased: that done, the patriarck the popes legat comming to Rome, procured the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall, which he long inioied not. For being greatlie enuied by reason of these honors & some greivous facts, certeine persons in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and six (after that he had burned George Wishart a learned man, condemned at saint Andriew by an assemblie of bishops) did the thirtieth daie of Maie (when they had secretlie in the morning entered the castell of saint Andriew where the cardinall was) expell the porters of the foresaid castell, the cardinals seruants, and slue the cardinall naked as he came to mate them, whose death sir James Hermonth prouost of saint Andriew thought to haue staied by assembling a power therefore: but after that he saw the cardinals dead bodie hanged out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The death of which cardinall comming to the gouernors eares, he banished the author thereof, as writeth Lesleus in these words: Gubernator, quod nec cognato suo sanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec cancellario maiestas ac domus propria, ad impiorum insidias effugendas quicquam profuerit, agerime ferre. Consilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij iuasu indicto, in cardis auctores capitis proscriptionisque sententia data est.

George Gordon earle of Huntleie, sonne of John Gordon, being chancelor of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and seven, falling about the first yeare of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots, was taken prisoner by the English at Busskelbow field, who pittens the miserie of diuerse of his countreymen, wounded and taken at the same battell, did undertake for their rancome; whereupon they were permitted to depart, and left to shift for themselves as well as they might. In the next yeare, which was the yeare of Christ (as hath Lesleus one thousand five hundred fortie and eight) the protector of Scotland sent Carnegie knight and senator to the protector of England, to rancome Huntleie, or at the least to obtaine that his wife might

Two cardinals onlie in Scotland.

Edil 207

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 482.

George Gordon.

tolfe might come vnto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Morphet, where expecting his tolfe, he thought vpon his escape, and from thence after supper, deceiuing his warders, he fled by night into Scotland, through the aid of one George Carre his deere friend, who provided him speedie horses therefore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was iustlicke interteined of the quene, the gouernor, and the other nobilitie; but chieflie of his wife, whose earnest desire to see him was the occasion of his escape. But as all iole hath some hard hap for the most part attending vpon the same; so this earle did after feeble the force of like misfortune. For about seven yeares after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to prison as after shall appeare. Before which, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the quene mother of Scotland; but before that iourne, whilst he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Mackintosh chiefe of the Glenchatins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priuie conspiracie made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raised a great commotion like to haue succeeded to great slaughters (in that the earle of Cassels and manie others fauored Mackintosh) if the wisdom of the quene mother had not appealed the same.

Monsieur  
Kubie keeper of  
the great seale.

After that the quene mother had bin in France, the in the same yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England: but the earle Huntlie warlike fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them, returned by sea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had bene about foure yeares in Scotland, the quene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, sent this earle Huntlie into Heitland to take John Mordrak: but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edenburgh the eleuenth of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, toke away the great seale from this earle Huntlie the chancellor, and gaue it to monsieur Kubie a French man, which monsieur Kubie thus made keeper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie quene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntlie then chancellor in ward. But the earle of Huntlie after being set at libertie, it seemeth that he was still chancellor. For bestides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Mchenet & Heitland, and the quenes land at Straitfole, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the Scottish histories named still chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and one, and the nineteenth yeare of quene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongst other, chosen to be of the priuie counsell. Of whome before this also Lesleus writeth, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, the quene hauing receiued a bill of supplication from the protestants: Illa hunc protinus libellum supplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium synodo exhibendum, vt de illis definiret, reddidit.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, in October being the twentieth yeare of the same quene, he was in the faction betwene him and others (for diuerse misdemeanors also, vpon his comming with an armie

to Cornethie in Mar) slaine, and John Gordon his sonne taken prisoner, brought to Aberdine the nine and twentieth of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancellors which followed in succession of time, because they fall yet fresh in memorie, and some mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals; I do not intend to make anie double recitall of them in that place, being a thing superfluous so to do; & therefore, because Omne nimum vertitur in vitium (whereto the lawiers agree saie, that Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora) I will referre the for the supplement of this title of the chancellors, to the same continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and dispose them, as best shall serue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherefore leauing them, and returning to the consideration of other things, which following time hath begetten and brought forth in Scotland: we saie, that as the quene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, sent maister Knolles into Scotland to vnderstand the estate of these times: so in like sort the Scots with like congratulation, dispatched a messenger vnto the quene of England, by whome she might haue knowledge of such things as were after done. For maister William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was sent from the king of Scots to the quene of England in the same moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who comming to the court then remaining at Craneswell, did there make deliuerie of the same letters. During whose abode here in England, some of those which had before assisted the earles of Angus and Marre, against such as seemed to nourish the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the same Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a desire to be singular to themselves, imbraced the abolished doctrine of the pope, & set vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongst whom, one, not of the meaneest, the lord Sparwell, who had married the earle of Angus his sister, did in Januarie aduance the same, and heard masse at Lincolnden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike lawes appointed in Scotland. Wherof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith dispatched a messenger vnto him, commanding him to surcease the same. But the lord Sparwell persisting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and vpon the refusall of an oth touching the same, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edenburgh, where he long remained.

William Keith  
sent into Eng-  
land.

The lord  
Sparwell hear-  
eth masse.

These things thus done in Scotland, the afore named maister Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentieth of Januarie, with answer that his maiestie of England would shortly send an ambassadoz into Scotland, who should satisfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the full of his maiesties determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph esquier, a person who had manie times before executed that function in those countries, and was well acquainted both with the state & maners of the people, was by the quene of England dispatched into those parts; who being so authorized, toke his iourne from London towards Scotland on the eight daie of Februarie. After which, in April following, maister Archibald Douglas (one that had bene sometime of the session or parliament of Edenburgh) hauing remained some yeares here in England, vpon displeasures which the king of Scots conceiued against him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himselfe so

Maister  
Randolph go-  
eth into Scot-  
land.

willie, that he obtained great fauor after his re-  
turne home. In this yeare, the presbyterie (as they  
had manie times done before, but especiallie in the  
yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore  
and thre, which I thought to note in this place, be-  
cause I would not often vse repetition of one thing  
done at severall times in so manie places) did ex-  
communicat their metropolitan the archbishop of S.  
Andrews, and the rest of the bishops also, because  
they would not in all their actions, support and con-  
firm the doctrine which the presbyterie had esta-  
blished. Which excommunication the presbyterie  
did the more boldlie, because they were supported by  
the assistance of the maister of Lindsie, a great eni-  
mie to this Patrike Adamson bishop of saint An-  
drews.

But the king in the beginning did assist him a-  
gainst them, and the archbishop did in like sort thun-  
der an excommunication against them. Which di-  
vision not being meete to be in the cleargie, who  
ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of  
one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bying  
the same realme to confusion: for Omne regnum  
in se diuifum desolabitur: which must needs be,  
where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferiour  
of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obte-  
anie superiours. In which place, sith I haue menti-  
oned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint An-  
drews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake  
anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection  
of all the archbishops of that see.

#### A Cathalog of the archbishops of saint Andrews, collected out of the histories of Scotland.



The Scots seeking meanes to rid them-  
selues from subiection of the bishop of  
Rome, who was the metropolitan of  
Scotland, did in the yeare of Christ one  
thousand foure hundred threescore and fouretene ob-  
taine of the pope that they might haue a metropo-  
litane see within themselves, by reason of the conti-  
nual wars which was betwene the two nations;  
during which they could neither vse appellations to  
their metropolitan, nor haue other bishops conse-  
crated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S.  
Andrews into an archbishopricke in the time of king  
James the third, touching which, thus writeth Les-  
leus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yeare  
of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and  
fouretene) Patricius Grahamus sedis Andrepolita-  
nae ecclesiae episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a pa-  
pa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana potestas in diui And-  
reae ciuitate fingeretur: iniquum esse enim contendit, vt  
Scoti ab Eboracensi episcopo tanquam primatu pe-  
derent, cum propter crebra bella (quibus se Scoti &  
Angli mutuo laceffunt) Scotis ad illum non pate-  
retur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, praesertim in ap-  
pellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, vt Andrea-  
politano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitana  
incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi  
mense Septembri dicta est, atque maxima populi no-  
bilitate laetitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Grah-  
ami odio flagrant, illius auctoritatem repudiant, re-  
gisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other  
authors saie, eleven thousand marks) occupant, ne  
Grahami partibus studeret. Interea praesules Roma  
mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum sus-  
cipiunt. But in the end they did not preuaile. Gra-  
ham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andrews  
and the first archbishop of that see, was after his ad-  
uancement to that title deposed in this sort. In the

yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre-  
score and seuentene, pope Sixtus the fourth of that  
name sent a legat called Husman into Scotland, Lesleus. lib. 8. pag. 318.  
which should displace this Patrike the archbishop of  
saint Andrews, condemned by the sentence of the  
pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismaticke,  
simoniacke, whereupon he was deprived of all ecclesi-  
asticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall pri-  
son; in whose place was William Schewes chosen,  
to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was  
committed, after which Graham being removed for  
his safe imprisonment first to saint Colms Ile, then  
to Dumfermeling, and lastlie to Lochelene, there  
in the end he died, and was buried in saint Sarffis  
or Seruianus Ile in Lochelene after that he  
had bene thre yeares archbishop.

William Schewes being created archbishop of  
saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand  
four hundred threescore and eightene as some haue,  
or one thousand foure hundred threescore and nine-  
tene as others haue, in the holie rood house in E-  
denburgh, in the presence of king James and ma-  
nie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the ensigne  
of his metropolitan power, being declared legat  
and primat of Scotland, at what time he was not  
withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being e-  
stranged from shewing anie fauor to Graham, did  
often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled  
the same Graham from his archiepiscopall see. Af-  
ter which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure  
hundred fourescore & two, this archbishop Schewes  
fled into his owne countrie, and after at the request  
of the king resigned his archbishopricke, contenting  
himselfe with the bishopricke of Purrie.

Andrew Steward vncle to king James the third  
was vpon the resignation of William Schewes  
made archbishop of saint Andrews, after which in  
the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure-  
score and foure the king sent this archbishop ambas-  
sador to Rome for the obtaining of certeine priuile-  
ges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Christ  
one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, in  
the time of king James the fourth, about the third  
yeare of his reigne was great contention betwene  
the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgou,  
touching both their authorities: which when it had  
drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions,  
it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, untill  
all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding  
the same by the canon law before ecclesiasticall iud-  
ges. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five  
hundred and seuen, being about the nineteenth yeare  
of James the fourth, the bishop of saint Andrews  
with the earle of Arrene were sent ambassadors in-  
to France.

Alexander Steward bassard sonne to king James  
the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andrews  
in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and  
ten, about the two and twentieth of the reigne of the  
same James the fourth: this man hauing long li-  
ued with Erasmus in Germanie, and in the low  
countrie was aduanced to this see of the archbi-  
shopricke when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing  
intelligence thereof by his friends, came forthwith  
into Scotland, where he was iustlie receiued by the  
king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was saue to-  
gether with his father king James the fourth at  
Floden field, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five  
hundred and thirtene. After which, John Hepburne  
prior of saint Andrews strongly besieging the ca-  
stle of saint Andrews, forced the same to be yelded  
vnto him. The cause of which bessege grew, that Hep-  
burne being chosen bishop of saint Andrews by his  
canons of that church (wherevnto the whole nobilitie  
were

William  
Schewes.

Andrew  
Steward.

Lesleus.

1483

Alexander  
Steward.

Lesleus. lib. 8.  
pag. 353.

Left pag. 373.

Andrew  
Fozman.

were helpers) was hindered to possess that archbishoppe, by such spendarte people of Savine Dowglass as kept the castle; whereupon the quene and the earle of Angus, after that they understood how the castle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was so trouble some unto them, should ascend to so high a dignitie, and that Savine Dowglass to deserue to them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that bishoppe should be helpelesse of the recoverie therof. Whereupon the quene and the duke of Albanie diligently labored by ambassadors sent to Rome, that a third person (such as Savine Dowglass could not obtaine it) might be advanced thereunto, which third man was Andrew Fozman bishop of Purrie: further requiring therewithall that he might be abbat of Dumfermling, & Aberboth, which in the end with much intreatie they obtained of the pope.

Andrew Fozman bishop of Purrie was at Edinburgh by the popes bulls on the eighth kalends of Januarie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene (being about the second yeare of the reigne of James the first) declared archbishop of S. Andrews, and abbat of Dumfermling and Aberboth. Whereupon the prior of saint Andrews before named, still contending that he was archbishop, both in respect of the election of the count, and the consent of the nobilitie, did labor all he could against Fozman, appealing him to Rome, for which cause he with the lord Hales and other his friends came to Edinburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and such others as openly assisted Fozman, did oppose themselves against the prior, which nobilitie (because they were great in the court) did the more molest and hinder Hepburne, hostile after by publike edict and proclamation of the king banishing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being stricken with the sharpnes of that precept, did prissilie depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wrest from Fozman the archbishoppe, which he could not obtaine by violence. But how he sped at Rome I do not know, for I onelie find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene, about the third yeare of the same James the first, that the gouernour perceiuing that all these contentions, hatreds, and diuisions of the nobilitie did arise by these bialles, which were betwene Fozman and Hepburne for the see of saint Andrews, desired to cure this græuous wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he perswaded Andrew Fozman that he should resigne all his ecclesiasticall benefices into his hands in an open assemble at Edinburgh, for by that meanes the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and vterlie root out those breaches of dissention. Whereupon there was a daie appointed to the nobilitie to assemble: at what time Andrew Fozman freely resigned to the gouernour the duke of Albanie all his ecclesiasticall promotion, to be disposed at the dukes pleasure. In consideration thereof, the duke bestowed the archbishoppe of saint Andrews and the abbacie of Dumfermling vpon the same Andrew Fozman, and gaue the bishoppe of Purrie to James Hepburne (greatlie fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Fozman) being thereunto substituted by John Hepburne prior of saint Andrews in place of the said John, to whom moreover the duke appointed a yerelie pension of a thousand marks, to be paid by the same Fozman out of the abbacie of Dumfermling. After which, about six yeares or somewhat lesse, this Fozman departed his life, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, and the

ninth yeare of king James the first, to whom succeeded James Beton.

James Beton archbishop of Glasco and chan. James celloz of Scotland, was made archbishop of saint Andrews (as is before touched) after the death of Andrew Fozman, hauing therewith the abbacie of Dumfermling, as his predecessor before had possessed it, of whom see more in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

David Beton brother to the same James Beton was after the death of the last archbishop of saint Andrews named to that see by his brother before his death, which place he possessed accordingly, after the death of the same James Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue spoken more liberally in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

John Hamilton brother to the gouernour being abbat of Passaie, was by the same gouernour in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred forty and six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie quene of Scots made archbishop of S. Andrews, after that he had returned out of France (where he applied his studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred forty & three, being the first or second of quene Marie of Scotland. This man comming out of France, passed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did visit the king of England, of whom he was most honourable and courteouslie receiued. From thence going into Scotland he was made treasurer, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, to whom he did further in all good counsels at home, and saue & defend in the wars abroad. When in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, being the seauententh of quene Marie, he was with the quene besieged in Leith. After still following the quenes part, he with others meteth hir in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, at Busskelbow, and so attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fencientie & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the first, was taken in the castell of Dunbartaine, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Mattheu earle of Lenex, about the murder of Henrie king of Scots, sonne to the said Mattheu, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the first archbishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ignominious a death.

Patrick Adamson alias Constance succeeded Patrick Adamson in the archbishoppe of saint Andrews, who possessing this place at this daie, and hauing occasioned me to speake of him in severall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is heere to be ouerpasse, and therefore I referre thee to the same annales, if thou desire to know what I haue said of him. Thus knitting by the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andrews, we saie that as you haue heard before, that in february last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambassador from the quene of England into Scotland, so he still remaining there a long time in that countrie dispatcht his ambassage to good effect. During whose aboade there, there was an assemble holden at Edinburgh in Maie, wherein these things which follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and order of the same commonwealth.

The articles concluded in the assemble holden at Edinburgh in Maie.

First, the whole realme was diuided into 52 presbyteries, & the number of ministers and churches appointed to euerie presbyterie.

A. t. g.

2 That

2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesday of October and Aprill.

3 There shall be one generall assemblee in the yeare, the first of October next insuing.

4 All assemblies doe consist of these persons, the pastor, doctor, and elders, & all the three to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue anie sutes in the assemblies may see and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the three afore specified.

5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastor or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastor.

6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldership as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did appertene onelie to a pastor or pastors sent from the assemblee, and not else.

7 That when euer the assemblee maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, triall of ministers, deposing them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest iudgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand vntill the presbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblee, being a pastor, as pastor shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblee, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblee, of whome he receiued the same.

10 If he admit or doe any thing without consent of his assemblee, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

11 The power which he shall receiue shall be *Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis*.

12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not preiudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

13 The visitors appointed by the generall assemblee for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblee shall appoint.

14 That no commission giuen by anie in times past before the date of this assemblee shall be vallea- ble, but such onlie as the said assemblee shall appoint. In which assemblee also it seemeth that the kings maiestie made certeine requests, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, whereupon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the preiudice of his metropolitan iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.

The meanes taken in this generall assemblee, touching the bishop of S. Andrews, at the desire of the kings maiestie.

**I**f the bishop by his owne handwriting or personall appearance in the assemblee, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publikelie professed or meant in anie sort to claime a supremacie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer auowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had done, it had bene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall as-

semblee he claimed to be iudge thereunto, and that if he had done it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour or contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and craue pardon for the oversight thereof, and promise good behauiour in the time to come.

3 If he will promise to claime no further than he suffie may by God his word, and according to the last conference, and endeavour himselfe in all behauiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderate person, and so serue, as that he may procure agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblee without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to insue.

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yield to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand therevnton, which done, the said assemblee at Edinburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind & obedience to his maiestie, in aduulling the processe of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

The decree of the assemblee at Edinburgh, concerning the restitution of the bishop of S. Andrews.

**I**n the name of our Lord Iesus Christe, his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what good will we would obeye his helres so farre as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for good hope we haue in his maiesties sauourable concurrence in building vp of the house of God within this realme, and because the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time of the conference, whereupon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie good causes were contented to be remoued, we will forbear to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoeuer prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemn the said synod. Yet for the respects aforesaid, and vpon good and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlaid, vnderduted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Providing alwaies he obserue what hath bene promised by him in the premisses, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This done the earle of Rutland (hauing a commission directed to him, to William lord Cuers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwik as his maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Whereupon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Cuers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwik the place appointed where this league should be fully established. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and authority, appointed to come to Berwik for Scotland. But some delaie being made of their appearance, and manie excuses therewith to intertaine time by messengers vied, at the length commeth to Berwik Francis earle of Bothwell, Robert lord Widd, and



and sir James Hume of Colden knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there making with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensue and offensue betwene these two nations: which done, the earle of Huntland returned home, and master Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leave of the king, whome when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fiftieth of August, where I will now leave him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet because they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the instructions of the young Scottish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

*Sape tibi Randolphe iubet me pingere regem,  
Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.  
Accipe: sit primum vera pietatis amator,  
Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,  
Pacem amet: et si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,  
Exuat in victos arma, odiumque simul,  
Nolo nimis parcus, nimium sit nolo benignus,  
Ptraque regno aqua est exitiosa lues,  
Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,  
Et se communem iuribus esse patrem:  
Puniat inuitus, cum res iubet esse severum,  
Publica cum poscent commoda lenis erit.  
Puniat, ut exemplar populo sit recta sequendi,  
Sit vultus prauis terror, amorque bonis,  
Excolat impense ingenium, corpusque modeste,  
Luxuriam frangat cum ratione pudor:  
Iam tacitus tecum, tentas me fallere, sanquam  
In tabula nostram, qui mihi pingit heram.*

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassadoe sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassadoe being called monsieur D'annauall had at this time small interteinment in Scotland; where not staid long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrie into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Boid was slaine in this sort. The earle being a goodlie young gentleman, and like to proue a good member of his countrie, as manie of his ancestors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much vsed by the Scots) about five or six miles frō his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambush of his enemies, he was in his forne towards his castell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertlands, and some of the seruantes of the Patres; at what time he was most miserably slaine by them to their great dishonour, and his countries discommoditie. After which, in September Archibald Douglas (who as you heard before departing this realme in Aprill last, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was sent ambassadoe from the king of Scots to the quene of England; in whose companie were attendant on him William Purro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Douglas nephue vnto the same Archibald. Which ambassadoe after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsor, on the first of the same moneth of September, with whome remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, expecting the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender dis-

course. Thus hauing patched by a Rapshode of some few things done in Scotland since the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie so nakedly deliuered by me, I determine to knit vp all that soeuer is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue bene the willinge to do, because I would obserue that course in Scotland which I haue done in my additions to the historie of England, first written by Raphaell Holinshed. For hauing there closed vp that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue written any thing concerning England, so will I wrap by these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrie. In doing whereof I haue not refused to follow the order of Lesleus and other historiographers of Scotland, obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

### A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scottish kings.

**B**Efore I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speake not by waie of impeaching any glorie of the Scottish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauiug correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do transference them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they seeme vnto me (holding the same for this present vntill I may see good authoritie to disproue it) to be ouer curious in taking from other that which is their due. For I do verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For vntill late yeres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scotti or Scots; whereupon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, do challenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers do vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogate from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, first leauing it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may nor will sit as Honorarius arbiter betwene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, Fergusius who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yere of the world thre thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Lesleus saith thre hundred and five before Christ, did write Leges politicas lib. 1. This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them; for thus writeth Stanihurst in his writers of Ireland: Fergusius sonne to Fergusus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part

part suppose to haue bene an Irishman, was in the fine and twentieth yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned nere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Upon whose mishap these verses following were made:

Icarus Icaris vt nomina fecerat vndis,

Fergusus petra sic dedit apta fux.

**Iosina.**

Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusus the first, who flourished in the yeare of the world, as hath Gesnerus, three thousand eight hundred twentieth and six, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seuen, as the same author saith, but one hundred three score and one as hath Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89 did write De viribus herbarum lib. 1.

**Ethodius.**

Ethodius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the yeare of Christ one hundred ninetie and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath Lesleus, but one hundred ninetie and six, as hath Gesnerus, saine by a musician of the Hebrewes, did write Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas.

**Celcius Sedulius.**

Celcius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Gesnerus, which flourished about the yeare of Grace foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusus the second, and Eugenius the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Greece, and Asia, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 134. Whome the pope Gelasius wondering at his vertue and wishing was wont to call Venerabilem, or worthe reuerence, as our English Bede is accustomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write Carmen paschale lib. 4. which books are intituled Libri mirabilium diuinorum. Besides, he penned Annotationes in omnes Pauli epistolas, printed at Basil by Henric Peter, Hymnum de seruatore. Ad Theodosium Cæsarem lib. 1. In editionem Donati lib. 1. In Prisciani volumen lib. 1. Exhortatorium ad fideles lib. 1. De Christo lib. 2. with diuerse other verses and epistles.

**Merlinus Calidonus.**

Merlinus Calidonus otherwise called Merlinus Syluestris, or Aplandith (a different person from him which is called Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the British prophet Telesinus. This Merline Calidon erected manie prodigies or strange things against the English Saxons, which man flourishing about the yeare of Christ five hundred and seuentie, did write De vaticinijs lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

**Columbanus.**

Columbanus, whome Gesaerus, Bede, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in Ulster, but Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta, Lesleus, & the Scottish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monasteries, being Abbas Luxuriensis, as hath Gesnerus, Sixtus Senensis, and Lesle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbete he built (by the permission of Theodoricus the king) together with the abbete of Fount-nelle in France. This man at the first held the feast of Caeser contrarie to the west church, but in the end was reduced thereto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left saint Gall, and after passed into Italie, where he liued a most holie life in the monasterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Boursens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentieth daie of Nouember. He flourished in the time of Conballus king of Scots, about the yeare of our redemption five hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, Commentaria in totum psalterium lib. 1. Epistoliarum lib. 1. Mona-

steriorum methodos lib. 1. Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos lib. 1.

Briget, a most holie woman, whome the Irish affirme to be borne in Linister, but Gesaerus and Lesle with the Scots do affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by Gesner called Brigida Laginentis, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of Aran, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 149. She flourished about the yeare of our Lord five hundred three score and eight, as hath Lesleus, in the reigne of Conballus king of Scots; some other saie she flourished in the yeare five hundred and ten, Gesnerus in the yeare of Christ five hundred and eightene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which books Lesleus will not haue to be written by this Briget a Scottish woman, but by Briget called Brigita Suetica that flourished manie yeres after this Scottish Briget, writing thus: Imperit tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inscribuntur, quidam cõfundit: siquidẽ multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostram fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuinam Brigitam sunt vbique persecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in villis cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostri eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui id ipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenedu rectè se colere hactenus putantur, &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen challenge hir with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which verses are thus:

*Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,*

*Brigita Patricius atque Columba prius.*

Spaulphus or Spaulthus Scotus, as Gesnerus termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord five hundred foure score and nine, he writ De Paschatis obseruatione, whome I take to be Spaulphus, who was notable learned in the Greeke and Latine, first a scholemaster, and after abbat of Spalmburie called in the beginning Maidulphi curia, or Spaulphurbie, after the name of this Spaulphus, who as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and firstene. Now it is certaine both by our and the Scottish chronicles, that Spaulphus the builder of Spalmburie monasterie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a monke, was martyred in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord five hundred three score and nine, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, but Lesleus affirmeth him to liue in the gouernment of Chisnus, which died in the yeare of our Lord seuen hundred three score and two, being the thirtieth yere of his reigne. This Kilianus did write Contra peregrinos cultus, lib. 1. Gesner also out of Mat. Dresserus nameth Lecturã Kiliani super magistrã sententiarum, which peradventure might be this Kilianus the Scot.

Jonas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat Columbanus, flourished in the yeare of Christ five hundred and thirtie, as hath Gesnerus, he writ Vitam sancti Columbani lib. 1. Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Gesner out of Bale, was a monke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monasterie in the Ile of Iua, who flourished in the yeare of Christ five hundred foure score and nine, and writ De locis terræ sanctæ lib. 1. De situ Ierusalem lib. 1. De pascheta legitimo lib. 1. Epistolas multas, from this mans woorks Bede affirmeth that he

had manie things which he inserted in his owne booke. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Dorsetshire belonging to the bishopricke of Exeter, and now at this date is in English called Catwood.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the first king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Lesleus, noble bozne, who travelling into strange countries, converted manie from paganism into Christ, leading a most austere life in the solitarie woods, not far from Brulchius the famous river in Alfatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writeth Gesnerus: Florentius Volusenus Scotus scripsit theologicā orationē suā cōmendationem piā & eruditā, Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi tranquillitate carmen ibidem excusum 1543. & Basiliæ apud Ioannē Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551. Idem edidit aphorismos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

**Artuillus.** Artuillus, or Artuillis a worthie gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person bozne in Scotland, flourished, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to haue lived in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he farther saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ seven hundred thre score and two, this Artuillus writ De rebus mathematicis librū vñ, ad Adelmum episcopum lib. 1.

**Sedulius Junior.** Sedulius Junior being bishop of the south Scots did write Statuta concilij Romæ ad sanctum Petrum habiti, and lived in the yere of Christ seven hundred and fouretēne.

**Bonifacius.** Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witness of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scottish blood, went to Rome, from whence by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to convert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: In qua (as saith Lesle) Thuringis, Hefsis, & Austrasionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, messum longē copiosissimam collegerat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thence into Frisia, where he was martyred in the yere of Christ seven hundred fiftie and five, who being a monke of the order of saint Benet, did write; Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib. 1.

**Ioannes Mailrofe.** Ioannes Mailrofe whom Gesnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all diuine knowledges, lived in the time of Donald the first of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Ross, and also flourished in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourescore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Græke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Denis into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de san-

cto Viatore, a most notable diuine. Shortly after which, the said John was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfrid the king thereof, to congratulate so worthie a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had settled a perfect league betwene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie, intertained by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe scholemaster and instructor.

But shortly after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Palmesbury, to all such as would come to his lecture, he was by certeine scholers of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpe rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as saith Lesleus. Which John, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authority of the pope, procured to be numbred amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordaining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and downgs thus writeth Gesnerus in these words: Ioannes Mailrofus cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scripsit super canones Aizadeli lib. 1. Ad Carolū regē lib. 1. Versus diuersi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De naturæ diuisione lib. 1. De primorū principio lib. 1. De eucharistia lib. 1. Commentaria scripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditissimas lib. 1. De German. iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baileus. Idem libros Dionysij Areopagite in Latinam linguam transtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Drell.

**Kennethus king of Scots.** Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie & six, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expressed by Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whome thus writeth Gesnerus: Kennethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, scripsit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iurisperiti vtuntur. But in that Gesner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie serueth) that euer the English borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & bene enforced to obvie the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their superiour lords: to whome they haue done their homage, although time hath now wrought the same out of vse.

**Claudius Clemens.** Claudius Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the disciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as saith Sixtus Senensis in bibliotheca sancta: he was verie studious in the scriptures, & skilfull in other humane knowledges, who living in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verse and prose write manie learned works, whereof these are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Iosua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In psalterium. In Mattheum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangelistarum concordia. Contra Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

**Beornillus.** Beornillus bishop of the Scots, of whome thus writeth Parker in his booke of the lines of the archbishops of Canturburie: Beornillus Scotorum episcopus acerrimus verborum & sententiarum aculeis carmine scriptis, monachorum turbam lacefluit: which Beornillus was also at the councill of Calne in Wiltshire in England, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred threescore and seuentēne. For Alfritha the quene procured Alfrith or Alfrid earle of Mercia in England, that he should labor to haue this Beornill to be present there, which this bishop Beornill did performe, and vehementlie spake in defense of the secular priests, against the placing of monks in their rowmes.

Alcuinus

Aeneas.

Aeneas archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to have written certaine homilies; he flourished as hath Gessnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand and seven, under the government of Crime and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme.

Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slain by his owne courtiers.

Marianus Scotus.

Marianus Scotus so called, because that he was borne in Scotland, was a monk of the order Benedictine, who when he perceived all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and civil hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and six, he forsake his countrie, and first came unto the monasterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlinesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his conuincing thither, had the government of the same abbey. After which, Marianus went to Spentz, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he shortly after died, who (flourishing vnder the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leaue behind him these works of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotationes scripturarum. De cyclo paschali Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolae hortatorias, obiit Maguntiz, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus.

Turgotus by Gessner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verie vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrews, who being in life in the yeare of Christ one thousand fourescore and sixtene, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, or with the great head king of Scots, did write De Scottorum regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensis lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ. In which Gessner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not anie Margaret queene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret queene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

David Scotus.

David Scotus, of whom Gessner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe David Scotus, and next David Presbyter Scotus, this man being borne in Scotland, was first scholemaster at Wiceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the first the emperour, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrspergensis & manie others do write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the iourneie which the emperour Henrie the first made into Italie after the pacification had betwene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmsburie to saie thus much of him in his first booke De regibus. At verò Henricus antiquis Cesaribus in nulla virtute deiectione, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium subingaturus, quæstionemque de inuestitura suo libito reciditurus; sed iter illud ad Romanum magnis excercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporum consummatum. David Scotus Banchorensis episcopus exposuit, magis regis gratiam quam historicum deceret accluius. He lived and prospered about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one

hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratum insignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotiae lib. 1.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I do not as yet find ante mention in Gessner, but in John Maior and Lesseus) lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder David the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to anie diuine of his time, aswell in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set forth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Aldon in Paris, whose monument is yet to be seene with this epitaph recited by John Maior in his memorieall:

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,  
Pulvere hic tegeris docte Richarde situi:  
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotia partu,  
Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra suo.  
Nil tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec flamina paruo  
Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:  
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,  
Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.  
Segnior ut lento sceleratas mors petit edes,  
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecla gradu.*

Walter the bassard sonne of David the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the baine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesseus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholly consecrat to holie exercises and offices, being first indued with the rich canonrie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melrosse, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laied the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simple suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and three, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gessner writteth in this sort: Gualternus Albanensis monachus scripsit de libris ecclesiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Balcus.

Thomas Hiermant alias Crilston being borne in Scotland, was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certaine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curteine) foretell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose words obtained the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fatall date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourescore and three. He wrote Prædictiones rerum Scotticarum richmici versibus, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed Richmicus, or the Rimer, living some yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Gessner maketh him to flourish in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six.

Epiphanius

Michael  
Medicus.

Michael Medicus, being a learned man in all philosophy, astronomie, and the other mathematicas, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twise mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I mane times find in his Bibliotheca, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scorus, who flourished in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290, being an old man, he wrote In gratia Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphaera lib. 1. In Aristotelis meteora lib. 4. De constitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De celo & mundo lib. 2. De somno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De substantia orbis lib. 1. De sensu & sensato lib. 2. De memoria & reminiscencia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteora lib. 1. Imagines astronomicas lib. 2. Astrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Aristotelis lib. 10. De signis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De physiognomia lib. 1. Abbreuiationes Auicennae lib. 1. De animalibus ad Casarem lib. 1. whose booke of physiognomie was printed at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptista Sella.

John Duns.

John Duns by some called Iohannes Scotus, and learned the subtill doctor, was so surnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minors brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time nor long after was there not anie vniuersitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a house of their profession, in which this Duns at length took the habit and order of the Franciscans, prouiding of a most singular wit, whereby he became a sharpe and subtill disputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minors, where when he had for some space remained, and read vnto them of scholasticall matters, he traueled to Cullen, and there vntimely died in his youthfull yeares. He lived in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283. of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as saith Lessius lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotists or Scotists as all they of an other faction are surnamed Thomists or the Thomists, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in derision, to call such a person as is senselesse or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a foole: although trulie the same cannot stand with anie reason, this man Duns being so famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after shall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to set downe what other haue written touching him, sith both the English, the Irish, and the Scots, doe challenge him to be their countriman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore writteth Stanhurst in his description of Ireland vnder the title of the Irish writers. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith, that he was borne in England. So that there shall be as great contention rise of him as in old time there rose of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Cyrians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countriman. But the Smirniens were so stiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, and thereupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But that countriman to euer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtill and profound clearke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dashed,

was a little spice of hainglorie, being giuen to carpe and taunt his predecessors diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Thus much Stanhurst. Now the booke which he wrote were these. Super sententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Comentariorum Oxoniensium lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. In metaphysica quaestione lib. 12. Quaestiones vniuersaliu li. 2. Quaestiones praedicamentoru lib. 1. In analytica posteriora lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In Categorias euudem lib. 1. Lecturam in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisienses. Tetragrammatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whose works thus further writteth Gesn. Iohanni Scoto sententiarum interpreti primariam sacratissimi Dionysij translationem ascribunt, cum alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoto (before named, and living about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninctie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui istu multis seculis antecessit, & Athenis Graece didicit, accepta referri debeat. Of the death of this man see Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. De honesta vita, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of S. Denis out of Greke into Latine.

Thomas Warreie or Warraie flourished at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eighty and eight, in the time of Robert the second of that name king of Scots, at what time the English were put to the worst. This man vpon this victorie did compose manie things in Latine rime beginning in this sort:

*Musaresert fatum fore scriptum carmine vatum, &c.*  
Who being maister and ruler of Bethwallie, is not greatlie esteemed of the Scottish historiographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninctie, which is almost a hundred yeares before that, in which the histories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

William Elphinstone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but because I doe find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, set downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Gesnerus, I will saie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim set downe the words of the same author in this sort. Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotorum, Albonensis episcopus, scripsit antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum statuta librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valde Bostonus Buriensis in magno scriptorum catalogo, ob singularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Gesnerus.

James Steward the first of the name of James, being brought vp in England as a person estranged from his native soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue bene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was John Steward, and not James. This man in the time whilst he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countrie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six.

Iohannes Pastor borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta doth (not rightlie) call an Englishman, was brought vp in Oxford, where attaining to sufficient learning, he went into France for the obtaining further knowledge

Thomas  
Warreie.William  
Elphinstone.

James Steward.

Iohannes  
Pastor.



ledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne woorkes. He was borne at Haddington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Haddingtonensis, he did write Decisiones sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Matthæum, Historiarum maioris Britanniae lib. 6. Caxtonum Anglum transtulit lib. 7. He flourished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred & twentie, vnder James the first king of Scots, vnto whome he dedicated his storie of Britaine, containing England and Scotland. There is one John Apaior vouched and aleged in Crisopasso Ioan. Eccij, which I do take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible doth speake of one John Apaior in this manner: Iohannes Maior Anglus scripsit in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam, and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Apaior himselfe wherein he should liue. Of which Apaior Buchanan hath verie scoffinglie set downe these foure verses here vnder written as folloiweth:

*Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Maior,  
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,  
Non mirum titulus quod se veracibus ornat,  
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.*

William Gregorie.

William Gregorie borne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed diuinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and seuen. He left manie booke behind him which he had carefullie and learnedlie written, whereof these are the titles: De duplici potestate lib. 1. Elucidationes sententiarum lib. 4. Quaestiones vespérales lib. 1. In politica Aristotelis lib. 8. De triplici animae potentia lib. 1. De regno Christi aeterno lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De scripturae sensibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulare theologicū lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De disciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De sacra synaxi lib. 1. In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boetius.

Hector Boetius of Dundee in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scottish historie. He flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and six, vnder James the first king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but set downe Gesnerus words: Hector Boetius Deidona-tus, natione Scotus, scripsit catalogum regum Scotiae. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib. 1. Historias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonensium pontificum vitas, eius historiae Scotorum excusae sunt Parisijs, anno 1566: earundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiae libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem, Accessit & huic editioni eiusdem Scotorum historiae continuatio per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedemontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita fol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuy 1580.

Gawine Dowglass.

Gawine Dowglass, borne of the noble house of the Dowglasses in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betwix him and the gouernour of Scotland, forsooke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and one, in the

time of James the first of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comœdias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrium sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12.

David Lindsay of the mount or hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his woorkes written in his owne tong in verse, which were Acta sui temporis lib. 1. De mundi miserijs lib. 1. Tragedia Davidis Beton lib. 1. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of David Beton cardinal be not all one) Testamentum psitaci lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientiae lib. 1. Somnium Davidis Lindsey lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginae Magdalenae lib. 1. Of most of which his woorkes Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he flourished in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred and fortye, in the time of James the first king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindsay was brought up, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court.

Patrick Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephew of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lellius lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenensis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germany, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of James the first of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse booke, amongst which were these, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Iohannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Cudand Apophet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologie which contained one booke; besides which also he did write another booke Contra Antiscotum of this Apophet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie vnder James the first.

John Bellenden or Wallentine, who flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, vnder king James the first, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scottish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Mearns being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechismum fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortye and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots.

John Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortye and eight, being the first yere of Marie quene of Scots, did applie his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Selmo duke of Summerfet protector of England.

John Packebeth called in Latine Ioannes Madhabaus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie; who flourishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fiftie, being the eight yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots, did compose, De vera & falsa ecclesia lib. 1.

John Packebate borne in Scotland, did studie in Germany in the yere that the word became flesh.

theth one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, being the first tenth yeere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots. This man, whose Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same John Maketh before touched, did write Anglorum ecclesiarum originem & progressum lib. 1. Explicationem suae fidei lib. 1.

George Buchanan.

George Buchanan an Irish Scot, greatly learned, but many times maliciously affected, and that so vehemently, as that he would not forbear in the highest degree of malice to byzard and backbite every person and nation which had offended him, as may appear by his invidious speeches, not becoming a man of his learning, was schoolmaster to James the first of that name king of Scotland, of whom living in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and nineteen, I will forbear to say what I could, least I might offend in that which I dislike in him, & therefore will only set down what Gesner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus Scotus rudimenta grammatices Latinae Thomae Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicol. Brilingerus impressit Basilae anno 1542. extant eius & elegantissima poemata: Iephthes tragedia, Lutetiae apud Vascosanum, Franciscanus & fratres, quibus accesserunt varia eiusdem & aliorum poemata, Basilae apud Guarcinum an. 1568. Eiusdem psalmorum paraphrasis poetica, Genevae, Argentinae, Antuerpiae impressa in 8 & 15, eiusdem Baptistes suae calumniae tragedia, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelum. De iure regni apud Scotos editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. Psalmi Davidis ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primum modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a. I. Seruino decantati 4. Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholasticarum historia lib. 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knoke

John Knoke borne in Scotland, a great enemy to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles James, the first of that name king of Scotland, and wrote many books in the Scottish English, amongst which were Ad Londonienses & alios lib. 1. Ad euangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter sit orandum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Doctrina missalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistiae epistola 1. Ad ecclesias afflictas epist. 1. Ad Scotiae reginam Mariam epist. 1. Concilium in his angustiis epist. 1. Bucinae afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a sententia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiae librum unum. He lived in the year of Christ 1569.

John Langeie

John Langeie a Scot borne, following his studie in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who living in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and John Calvin, and of many other ministers of the new gospel (as he scornfully termed it) which bookes were out of French turned into Latine, and lastly into the Germane tongue, printed in 4 at Ingelskade in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred four score and two.

John Durie.

Iohannes Durus or Durie, whom Gesner calleth Wureus, being borne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Duries, was brought up in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest, and then a Jesuit, who now living did in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred four score and four, write a booke which was intituled Confutatio responsionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanae ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Brunellus, In clauso Brunello sub signo oliuae.

Patrick Adamson.

Patrick Adamson living in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and thirtene, did write certaine verses, whereof this was the title

and effect, as hath Gesnerus, Patricii Adamsoni gratiarum actio illustris. & potentiss. principi Elizabethae Angl. Franc. & Hiberniae reginae, propter liberatam civili seditione Scotiam, & redactam munitionem Edenburgi arcem sub fidem regis carmen elegiacum, which man being now living, is archbishop of saint Andrews.

Patrick Cockburne borne in Scotland, and flourishing in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie quene of Scots, did write, De utilitate & excellentia verbi Dei, which was printed at Paris by Michael Fezandate, and Robert Grauson, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, He wrote also De vulgari sacrae scripturae phrasibus, lib. 2. whereof the first doth intreat of the sinne against the Holy ghost, which they call irremitable or unto death: the second booke doth with great diligence and fidelity unfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by many enlivened, and worse interpreted: which worke was printed at Paris by Robert Apelline in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13.

Patrick Cockburne.

John Leslie sometime officall of Aberdeen, and bishop of Ross, of whom I have spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauorizer and furtherer of the Romane religion doth yet live in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie & six, in the time of Charles James the first king of Scots, and hath written Pii afflictissimi consolationes diuinaeque remedia lib. 1. Animi tranquilli monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 1. printed at Rome.

Ninianus Wenzetug.

Ninianus Wenzetug, who flourished in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred three score and one, in the time of Marie quene of Scots, was a fauorizer of the popes doctrine, and enemy to John Knoke, touching whom I will set down the words of two severall authors, whereof the one is Lesleus a Scot, and the popes and his friends, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: Hae res (which was a disputation in religion) Ninianus Wenzetog maximam apud haereticos inuidiam confluuit, unde cum audirent illum (Ninianus Wenzetog) iam apud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitaret cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expostulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Wenzetog capiendo, typographo mulcendo. Magistratus cum satellitibus intruit in typographiam, libros quos reperit, aufert, Iohan. Scoti typographi bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit: sed Wenzetog, quem tantopere cupiebant, praeforibus magistratui occurrentem quod incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent haereticum, rident Catholicum. On the other side thus writeth Bibliotheca Gesneri: Ninianus Wenzetug Renfronus, S. theologiae doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi apud Scotos Ratisponae, abbas flagellum sectariorum qui religionis praetextu iam in Caesare aut in alios orthodoxos principes excitare student, quarentes ineptissime quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendum. Accessit velutatio in Georg. Buchan. circa dialogum, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadtii ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Adam Blackwood borne in Scotland in Dumfermling, was brought up in Paris, where attending to many degrees of learning, is now living, being advanced to the place of one of the chiefe counsellors of Postiers. This man hath learnedly written many works, amongst which are his bookes De coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes admeralli regni Franciae, & Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis (after that Charles James the first, attained to the crowne) Scotiae. Besides which having written against the worke of Buchanan intituled De iure regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth against the chronicle of the same Buchanan.

Adam Blackwood.

Andrew Spelman one of the presbyterie in Scotland.

land, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Ar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fourtye and four, hath writtē manie epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuētiue against the quēne mother, to the king of France, which beginneth *Vipera cum calulis*.

**James Erie.** James Erie did (as hath Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who coming to Paris, travelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Caluin; he flourished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and one, under Marie quēne of Scots, and did write *Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responso ad Knoxium lib. 1.*

**Charles James.** Charles James the first of that name king of Scots now living, a toward young prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his pongest yeares about the age of seuentēne or eighttēne, write a booke of verses in his mother tung, containing manie matters of sundrie rare inuētiōns, and of sundrie forme of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close vp the same title with no lesse honozable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it vp with a king.

Thus setting end to my travels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit) I desire the reader to take it in good part, remembryng that *Vltra posse non est esse*, sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his wyper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more subiect wherby to worke, I can do no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that In magnis voluisse sat est; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy fauorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue done maie well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter vpon more lesure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine (*Ab sit verbis philautia*) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I maie seeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scripto, *Nunquam minus sum otiosus quam cum sum otiosus*.

*Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.*

